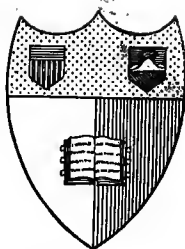

The Site of Old "James Towne," 1607—1698



Samuel H. Yonge

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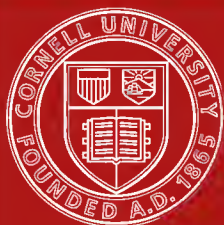
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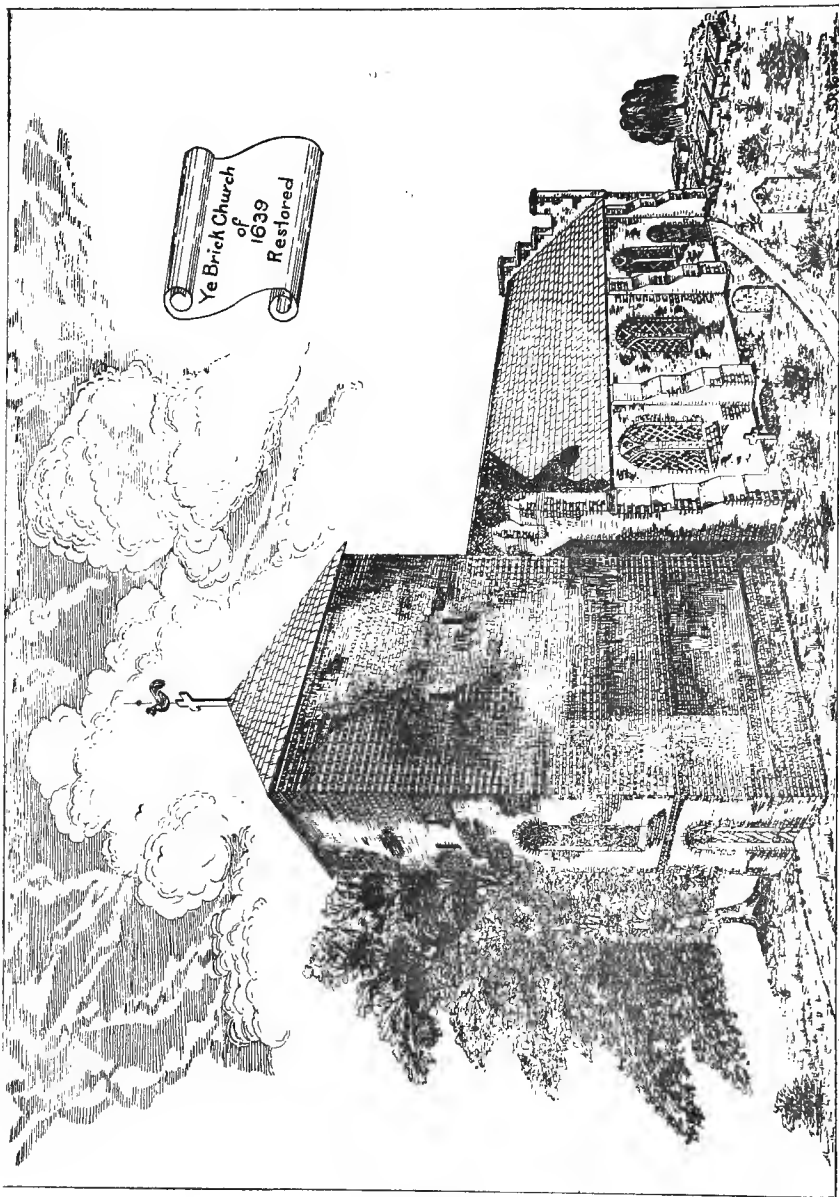


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The Colonial Dames of America contemplate erecting a memorial building, to enclose the foundations of the ancient churches, after the general design of "ye brick church of 1639." The project does not involve any attestation of the tower ruin.



Ye Brick Church
of 1639
Restored

The Site of Old "James Towne," 1607-1698.

A Brief Historical and Topographical Sketch

OF THE

First American Metropolis,

Illustrated with Original Maps, Drawings and
Photographs,

BY

SAMUEL H. YONGE.

"Redivivum est ex vetusto renovatum."—*Festus*.

PUBLISHED BY THE
ASSOCIATION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF VIRGINIA ANTIQUITIES.
RICHMOND, VA., 1904.

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by
SAMUEL H. YONGE.

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WM. ELLIS JONES,
PRINTER,
RICHMOND, VA.

IN publishing this edition of "The Site of 'Olde James Towne,'" the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities desires to gratefully acknowledge its indebtedness to the author.

Mr. Yonge's many services—as engineer, in preserving the island from the inroads of the river, and as an antiquary in bringing to light the buried remains of the old town, in giving its public buildings and homes, again, a local habitation and a name, and in writing its history—will ever connect his name with Jamestown.

The Association tenders its grateful thanks to Mr. Yonge for his generous gift of all rights to this edition of his exceedingly valuable book.

MRS. JOSEPH BRYAN,
President A. P. V. A.

ERRATA.

Page 6, lines 25 and 26, "Sir Francis Wyatt's first administration" should read "Sir Thomas Gates' term."

Map of "James Citty," on John White plat, "1643" should be "1644."

Index to map of "James Citty," reference 7, insert at beginning of line the words "Site of."

Ditto, reference 12, change "1643" at end of line to "1644."

Page 15, line 7, change "erosion" to "rate."

Page 16, line 6, change "1643" to "1644."

Page 18, line 10, change the comma after "vessels" to an apostrophe.

Page 18, lines 28 and 29, bracket the phrase "during Sir Thomas Smith's administration."

Page 42, line 1, change "is" to "in."

Page 70, line 24, change "petition" to "partition."

The Site of Old "James Towne," 1607-1698.

By SAMUEL H. YONGE.

INTRODUCTION.

IT was the author's privilege to have charge, under the direction of the United States Engineer Department in 1900 and 1901, of the work of protecting Jamestown Island from the encroachments of James River.

Before proceeding with the above work an attempt was made to learn the cause and extent of the encroachments. The former was soon discovered to be abrasion by wave action, while the latter, on account of the available evidence being meager and uncertain, could not be satisfactorily determined.

The abraded area at first appeared to be upwards of fifty acres, having its greatest width, about three-eighths of a mile, at the northwestern extremity of the island.

While the protection work was under construction new evidence offered, in the light of which the above area appeared too large. This led to making personal researches among all available sources of information, which have occupied the leisure moments of a period of two years.

The results of the above investigation, with regard to the site of the former town, presented in the accompanying monograph, are at variance with the statements of other modern writers.

There are but two descriptions available of the island and town after the latter had passed beyond the transitional stage of a military post, by writers of the time having a personal knowledge of the localities; one by an anonymous writer in about 1676, the other ten years later by the Rev. John Clayton. Both descriptions are quite incomplete. Supplemented by information from other sources, however, they have considerable value, especially that by Mr. Clayton.

In the description of the town by Mr. Richard Randolph, the antiquarian, published in 1849, in the *Virginia Historical Register*, Vol. II, pages 138 and 139, occurs the following:

"I will only add that the great body of the town, which, however, was never very large, was certainly west of the Old Steeple still visible, and is now entirely, or very nearly, submerged in the river. This is clearly proved by the old deeds for lots in the town recorded in the office of James City County Court, which call for bounds that are now under water, and more palpably, by vast numbers of broken bricks and other relics of building that may still be seen in the western bank at low tide."

It is evident from the above quotation that Mr. Randolph was not aware of the fact now disclosed that after about 1623 the greater part of the village was east of the tower ruin. The reasons for his belief that almost the entire town was west of the ruin were probably the following: During about the last three and a half decades of the town's existence the public buildings, as will be shown in the following pages, were west of the tower, on which fact, no doubt, the tradition was founded that the whole town was in that neighborhood; and, as only the western bank of the island was subsequently attacked by the waves, and consequently the foundations of former buildings of that quarter alone were exposed to view by abrasion of the bank, the above tradition was apparently confirmed; further, after the last state house and other buildings were burned in 1698, the standing parts of buildings in the entire town were, in the course of time, obliterated by the town site being put under cultivation and the brick formerly composing the buildings being removed; and, finally, on account of the long interval—a century and a half—between the town's abandonment as the seat of government, by which its few inhabitants, composed principally of resident state officials and tavern keepers, were compelled to remove, and that of a revival of any very great interest in the town, the traditions depended on for fixing its position had become dim and defective.

From what follows it appears that writers of later date than Mr. Randolph accepted and reflected his views, without proper investigation.

According to Bishop Meade, in his *Old Churches and Families*

of *Virginia*, Vol. I, page 111, the town was situated between the existing tower ruin and the upper extremity of the island, its eastern end being a short distance (one hundred and fifty yards) above the ruin, which he places at about a mile below the northern end of the isthmus. He also states in effect that the part of the island above alluded to had been encroached on by the river, thereby implying that the greater part of the town site had been washed away, and that traces of the town were visible at low tide in front of the island bank, *i. e.*, the western bank, which was the part abraded.

From the brief description of the town by the late Edward Duffield Neill, D. D., contained on page 203, *Virginia Carolorum*, published in 1886, it would appear that he, too, believed it to have been at the western extremity of the island. He also states that the quarter called "the New Towne" had been destroyed by the encroachments of the river.

Dr. John Fiske informs us in *Virginia and Her Neighbors*, Vol. II, page 120, published in 1896, that more than half of the town has been destroyed.

Dr. Lyon Gardner Tyler, President of William and Mary College, in *The Cradle of the Republic*, pages 19 and 40, places the town at the western end of the island, with the Back Street on a ridge which is referred to in the description of the island in the following pages as the third ridge. Since, as will be shown, Back Street was in the "New Towne," that part of the settlement, according to the above writer, must also have been on the third ridge.

With the above array of testimony, emanating from such well-known authorities, it was natural to begin the investigation of the subject with the preconceived idea that the town had stood west of or above the old tower, and that the greater part of it had been engulfed by the river.

As information regarding the extent and shape of the abrasion could not be obtained from historical works, recourse was had to the old records of patents for land at "James Citty" issued during the seventeenth century, from which principally it was learned that the town bordered not only the western shore of the island near its upper extremity, but also the adjacent southern shore below for about an equal distance and had a total length

along the river of about three-fourths of a mile. The patents also show that the quarter of the town referred to in them as the "New Towne" was of a permanent and not of an ephemeral character, and that for many years after its establishment, about 1623, was the most important part of the corporation. The most notable events and incidents of the first two and last three decades of the town's history, however, occurred at and west of the church still marked by the tower ruin.

It seems proper to call attention to the following most noticeable errors of statement made by recent writers:

In *The Cradle of the Republic*, pages 53 and 54, a one-acre lot patented by William Sherwood in 1681, whereon had stood "the Country House," is located north of the lands owned by William Edwards, Robert Beverley and Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., which were above the church, and a lot which, in 1688, was owned by Henry Hartwell, is placed above Sherwood's lot. The Back Street, Sherwood's acre with the "Country House," and the Hartwell tract, all above referred to, are now found to have been situated east, instead of west of the church tower, and near the eastern end of the town, while the properties of Edwards, Beverley and Bacon were near its western end. The Hartwell tract was on the southern shore of the island, about five hundred yards below the tower, and formed part of the southern boundary of the Sherwood acre.

In the description of the town about the time of Sir Francis Wyatt's first administration, given in Vol. II, page 529, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, by Philip Alexander Bruce, it is stated that a bridge was built to connect the island with the mainland. This clearly is a misapprehension, for there does not appear to be any record of such structure being built during the existence of "James Towne," nor until some time before the middle of the nineteenth century. According to Bishop Meade the island was connected with the mainland by a causeway on the site of the former isthmus about the middle of the eighteenth century.

In constructing the chart of the town and its environs, the localities where a number of historic scenes were enacted, were fixed, also the locations, with greater or less exactness, of the grounds or dwellings of a number of the former residents, the

sites of two of the town's three forts and of several of its public buildings.

There being no definite information available for determining the positions of the western bank of the head of the island during the Jamestown period, of the original pale town, also of the first fort and early graveyard, it was necessary to depend on reasonable conjecture. On account of not being based on data of a definite character, as are most of the other localities treated of, this part of the investigation is offered with a measure of diffidence, although the deductions made seem to be justified by circumstantial evidence. Unfortunately, there is nothing to show who owned the land around the church tower anterior to 1683, where, according to this investigation, before the "New Towne" was established, the earliest town was situated.

The positions of the third and fourth state houses, and the grounds of several persons conspicuous in the affairs of the colony towards the close of the town's career are, however, fixed in and near this older quarter of the town.

A description of the town would be incomplete without some reference to its most interesting feature, the first Anglican church in America. Brief descriptions of the several church structures of "James Citty" parish, erected at "James Citty," are therefore included.

As the page of the Virginia Land Patent Records containing transcripts of two of the earliest patents, viz: to Sir George Yeardley, Knight, and Captain Roger Smith, are missing, it was necessary, for locating the tracts they represented, to depend on the meager information contained in the Patent Record Index, and the renditions of the missing transcripts as contained in the writings of other investigators, which are not very satisfactory.

An appendix comprises the details, in as comprehensive form as possible, of the method of establishing the position of "the New Towne." The plats of several grants which have been located in "the New Towne" are omitted from the "Map of James Citty," as by introducing them those of greater antiquity and interest would be covered, and confusion created in the different lines. The parts of some of the plats which extend beyond the limits of the town are also omitted.

All dates are given according to Old Style.

The author's effort has been ably seconded by Mr. Frank D. Beckham, of Prince William County, Va., who has devoted his leisure to the work, and rendered invaluable assistance.

The artistically drawn map of "James City," Va., is the work of Mr. Otto Sonne, civil engineer, of Boston, Mass., whose attainments as a landscape engineer are well known.

The occasion seems opportune for informing the reader that the credit of rescuing from oblivion and preserving some of the most important ancient landmarks of Virginia, including Jamestown, is entirely due to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Organized and administered by ladies of the "Old Dominion," the association is not only arousing an ever-increasing interest in events of colonial days, which engenders a spirit of true patriotism, but in spite of a slender exchequer, is achieving remarkable results in preserving historic landmarks.

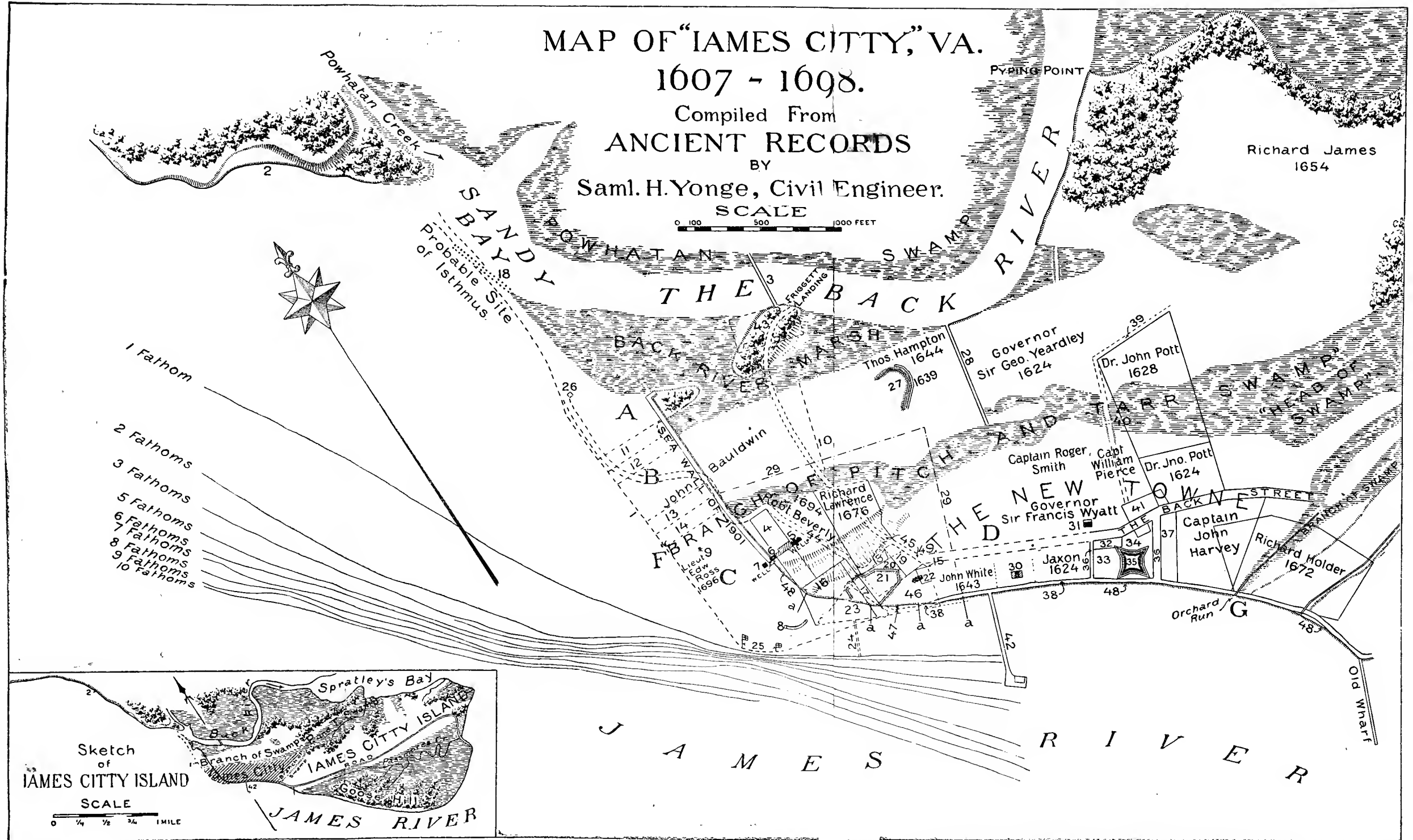
After exhausting all available sources of information about the town, it is found that a great deal is lacking to make a knowledge of the subject complete and satisfactory. This much, however, is learned, that the town, even though measured by what would appear to be a standard of its time, was small, poor and insignificant. This fact invests the place with the deepest interest, when it is remembered that from such a small beginning in the wilderness has sprung what bids fair to become, if not so already, the greatest nation of the earth.

The passing of a few years will complete the third century since the laying of the cornerstone of the nation's foundation. How striking the contrast between then and now, in the mode of living, in the knowledge of the sciences and the liberal arts, and in the superseding of intolerance and blind superstition by freedom of conscience and enlightenment!

MAP OF "JAMES CITY," VA. 1607 - 1698.

Compiled From
ANCIENT RECORDS
BY
Saml. H. Yonge, Civil Engineer.

SCALE
0 100 500 1000 FEET



The Site of Old "James Towne," 1607-1698.

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INDEX TO "MAP OF IAMES CITY, VA., 1607-1698."

- A—First ridge, "Block House Hill," belonging to John Bauldwin in 1656.
- B—Second ridge, containing tracts of James, Bauldwin, Hampton, *et al.*
- C—Third ridge, on which stood the third and fourth state houses.
- D—Fourth ridge, on which the town was principally situated.
- a, a, a, a—Jetties constructed in 1895-96 to protect island bank.
- 1—Probable western shore line of island, 1600-1700.
- 2—Present shore line of mainland.
- 3—Bridge across Back River on road to Williamsburg.
- 4—Lot of Philip Ludwell, Esq., in 1694, containing the ruins of three brick houses.
- 5—Third and fourth state houses, 1666 to 1698.
- 6—"Country House," in 1694.
- 7—Building reputed to have been a powder magazine.
- 8—Site of brick fort constructed between 1670 and 1676.
- 9—The lone cypress.
- 10—Approximate position of northerly line between Richard James and John Bauldwin in 1657.
- 11—Approximate site of tract of Richard Saunders, 1644.
- 12—Approximate site of tract of Edward Challis, 1643.
- 13—Approximate site of tract of Radulph Spraggon, 1643.
- 14—Approximate site of tract of Geo. Gilbert, 1643.
- 15—Suggested outline of original paled four-acre town.
- 16—Tract of Edward Chilton, Attorney-General, 1683.
- 17—Tract of Wm. Edwards, Sr., 1690.
- 18—Piles of former bridge between island and mainland, constructed during first half of nineteenth century.
- 19—Tract of John Howard, 1694.
- 20—Tract of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., 1694. Contains foundation of chimney.
- 21—Confederate fort constructed in 1861.
- 22—Ancient tower ruin, inclosed part of old graveyard, and foundations of third, fourth and fifth churches.
- 23—Probable site of triangular fort constructed 1607.
- 24—Probable site of "bridge" (wharf), constructed in 1611.

- 25—Probable landing place of first settlers, May 14, 1607.
- 26—Approximate site of blockhouse, built by Captain Richard Stephens in 1624.
- 27—Confederate redoubt commanding Back River, constructed 1861.
- 28—Ditch draining "Pitch and Tarr Swamp."
- 29—Boundary lines of tract belonging to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.
- 30—"The old state house" (approximate), used from about 1630 to 1656, on one-acre tract, of which part was sold to Ludwell and Stegg in 1667.
- 31—Ruins of building on site of Ambler-Jacquelin messuage.
- 32—Tract of John Chew, 1624.
- 33—Tract of Captain Richard Stephens, 1623.
- 34—Tract of Captain Ralph Hamor, 1624, Secretary of State and chronicler.
- 35—Site of the turf fort.
- 36—Cross streets connecting "the way along the Maine River" and the Back Street.
- 37—Tract of George Menefy, 1624, member of the Council of State.
- 38—The "way along the Greate river," or "Maine river."
- 39—Cart track "leading to Island House," in 1665.
- 40—Causeway over swamp formerly connecting part of island containing "the new towne" with the rest of the island.
- 41—One-acre tract bought by William Sherwood in 1681, "on which formerly stood the brick house formerly called the Country House," and later, probably Sherwood's residence.
- 42—Jamestown island wharf.
- 43—Probable site of tract of Richard Clarke, 1646.
- 44—The "main cart path."
- 45—"The old Greate Road," in 1694.
- 46—Ancient graveyard.
- 47—Point where skeletons were exposed by bank caving in 1896.
- 48—Shore line of 1903.
- 49—Traces of house foundations. Probable site of Richard Lawrence's dwelling about 1676.

N. B. Broken lines on map indicate approximate boundaries, etc.

DESCRIPTION OF JAMESTOWN ISLAND.

JAMESTOWN Island, Virginia, is situated in James River, sixty-eight and three-fourths miles below the head of tide-water, at the foot of the Richmond rapids, and fifty-eight miles above the Virginia capes.

No ancient charts of the island and town of the Jamestown period (1607-1698), have been discovered. "The Draughte by Roberte Tindall, of Virginia, Anno 1608," and "Chart of Virginia," sent to Philip III of Spain in the same year by Zuniga to accompany the report of Francisco Maguel,* "the Irishman," a spy in the service of Spain, and published in *The Genesis of the United States*, although possessing some merit as reconnoissance sketches, prove to be inaccurate on comparison with modern maps, and furnish information of but little value as to the shape of the island and the site of the town.

The island, thus invariably designated in the old land patents, and so referred to in Ralph Hamor's *Discourse*, and other ancient writings, is two and three-fourths miles long, with a width varying from about three hundred yards at its head to about one and one-fourth miles near its lower extremity. It was formerly connected at its upper extremity with the mainland by a narrow neck, which being at a much lower elevation than the island, constituted an isthmus only at ordinary tides. What appear to be traces of the isthmus are found at one to two feet below low tide, just west of the piling of an old trestle bridge, which formerly connected the island with the mainland. The bridge was destroyed by a storm over fifty years ago. As compared with the neighboring mainland, the general elevation of the island is low.

Adjoining the head of the island is a marsh, which is referred to in the old land patents as "belonging to the Back river."

The head of the island is composed of three ridges and part of a fourth, marked on accompanying map A, B, C, D, having an easterly trend, and rising from about twelve to sixteen feet

* His name was probably either Francis McGill or Michael.

above low tide. Between the three uppermost ridges are narrow marshes or slashes. The slash between the first and second formerly connected with Back River only, but by the abrasion of the western shore of the island it would now connect James River with the Back River were it not for the recently constructed sea wall. Between the second and third ridges is a slash or branch of a large swamp situated near the middle of the island and extending easterly to the Back River. It drains into Spratley's Bay, and was anciently referred to as "the Pitch and Tarr Swamp." About two hundred yards inland from the western shore of the island the above slash becomes the boundary between the second and fourth ridges.

The boundary between the third and fourth ridges is a little valley, which, near the river bank is two to three feet above high tide. This valley, as will appear later, contained near its former river end a brick fort constructed towards the close of the seventeenth century. At the head of the fourth ridge the ground rises quite rapidly to an elevation of about ten feet, and for two small areas to fourteen feet above low tide, forming two knolls, one at the tower ruin and the other in the Confederate fort of 1861. The two knolls were probably "the two Mountaines," on which Percy informs us, in his *Discourse*, "was sowne most of our Corne." The western extremities of the above ridges, as is shown below, prior to the last two centuries extended four or five hundred feet beyond the present island bank.

Below the fourth ridge is a narrow slash, now partly filled with sand, another branch of the main swamp, in which there is a run anciently known as "Orchard Run," draining the swamp into the river (see map of "James Citty Island"). East of the last mentioned slash is a ridge, also having an easterly trend. East of the above ridge and extending to James River is a branch of a great marsh, referred to below. Next follows a series of seven low ridges, forming collectively what was anciently known as Goose Hill. The Goose Hill ridges are separated by slashes of the extensive marsh above referred to, lying north and east of them, named Goose Hill marsh. It is drained into James river by Passmore's or Paschmore's Creek.

Goose Hill is a hill only in the same relative sense that the

two knolls where the English wheat was planted were mountains. The fourth ridge has a larger area of good soil above extreme high tide than the other ridges at the head of the island. The Back river, which is referred to in many of the old patents, forms the northern boundary of the island. Although its channel is from seven to twenty-three feet deep, the depth on the bar in Spratley's Bay, into which it empties, is but four feet; ample, however, for the crossing of the "friggett," from which the landing in Back River near the head of the island was named, and of whose coming the town's people were apprised by a musical note, as the vessel passed "Pyping Point."*

Above the Back River was situated "Sandy Bay," having the isthmus for its western and "Powhatan Swamp" for its eastern boundary, and receiving on the north the flow of Powhatan Creek. Near the northwest shore of the bay, about a mile from "James Towne," was situated what is believed to have been the first American glass works, in which beads were manufactured for trading with the Indians.

As will appear later on, the two branches of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp" above mentioned, were the upper and lower limits of the principal part of "James City." A line of stumps, visible at low tide, extending shoreward from a solitary cypress standing two hundred and seventy feet from the recently constructed sea wall, probably indicates the former position of the head of the upper branch of the swamp, where, as will be shown further on, a tract of land was granted in 1696 to Lieutenant Edward Ross.

The mean tidal range at Jamestown Island is but twenty-two inches. Great tides, however, rising to seven or eight feet above low water, are occasionally caused by gales from between south and east. Whenever the tide rose slightly above its normal level, the isthmus was submerged. During great tides there is a flow from the river through the depression between the third and fourth ridges into the upper branch of the swamp.

* The point was located by platting a patent to Richard James (Virginia Land Patent Records, Book III, p. 368).

ABRASION OF THE ISLAND.

UNTIL 1901, the length of the western bank exposed to abrasion was about a half mile. In the above year about half of the exposed bank was protected by the sea wall before mentioned. The shore of the mainland from a short distance above the island to the Chickahominy River, a distance of about six miles, is being abraded, and there are unmistakable signs of this action being operative for a very long period in the past. There is very good evidence that this bank was being abraded by the waves as early as 1686. The above protecting shore originally formed a natural protection for the island headland, and by its recession the latter became exposed to wave action.

It would hardly seem possible that the abrasion of the island was in progress as early as 1686, or even in 1696, as in the latter year a grant of land, situated on its western bank, contiguous to and below the upper branch of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp" was made to Lieutenant Edward Ross,* before alluded to. It seems probable that the island was not attacked by the river before 1700. Under this assumption, therefore, the whole period of the island's abrasion to the time of its protection in 1901, would be two hundred and one years. Observation of the bank in recent years shows that its annual rate of recession has been about four feet. Prior to the extensive use of side wheel steamers on James River, probably about 1860, and when occasional strong winds between west and north were the sole destroying agents, the rate probably did not exceed two feet. Applying the above rates for forty years and one hundred and sixty-one years respectively, the total width of the prism of abrasion would amount to about 482 feet.

From the data contained in the following quotation from *Amoenitates Graphicae*, a magazine edited by Professor Louis Hue Girardin, in 1803,† "many yards of the palisades erected by the first settlers are yet to be seen at a low tide standing at

* Virginia Land Patent Records, Book IX, p. 49.

† Foot note, page 8, *Report of the Proceedings of the Late Jubilee at James Town* (in 1807).



THE SEA WALL.

Looking down stream from "Block House Hill."

least 150 to 200 paces from the present shore," it would appear that the annual rate of abrasion, assuming the pace at thirty inches, was about twice that given above. Professor Girardin's description, however, shows that he was not accustomed to estimating distances, and his figures, therefore, do not appear to have any value.

As the time when the abrasion began and its erosion from time to time are unknown, no reliable deduction can be made as to the exact position of the western shore of the island in the seventeenth century.

From the Edward Ross patent, the direction of the shore for two hundred and fifteen feet, immediately below the head of the upper branch of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp," is learned to have then been about S. 3° W. (corrected for declination) or about the same as that of the present western shore at the sea wall.

In 1891, there still remained, about sixty yards above the Confederate fort, the lower part of the ancient headland, projecting about thirty yards from the general line of the shore and forming a sharp point. The lower side of the point in the above year furnishes the general direction of the southern shore of the headland.

In the account of the bi-centennary celebration at Jamestown Island in 1807, it is stated that the "Lady Washington," one of the visiting vessels, anchored "in a beautiful cove in the form of a crescent, which stretching on either side afforded a safe and expanded bason."*

The point above mentioned, then projecting several hundred feet further westward than the present shore, undoubtedly formed the head of the cove. Its foot was about five-eighths of a mile below its head, and is marked by an old abandoned wharf which was in use in 1861. The part of the cove below the new wharf remains as it was in 1803.

The description of a course in the survey notes of a patent to William Sherwood † "and by the same [Back River] to Sandy Bay, to a persimmon tree under Block House Hill, *thence under*

* *Report of the Proceedings of the Late Jubilee at James-Town*, p. 7.

† Va. Land Pat. Records, Book VII, p. 384, *et seq.*

the said hill six chains to James River," shows that the head of the island at the southern end of the isthmus was about 200 feet wide.

From patents issued to Alexander Stonar in 1637, and to Richard Sanders in 1644, for land situated on the first ridge; to Edward Challis in 1643, to Radulph Spraggon in 1644, and to John Bauldwin in 1656,* on the second ridge, it would appear that the general direction of the western bank of the island at its upper extremity was approximately the same as it is to-day. On account of incomplete descriptions the true positions of the above tracts cannot be determined. As even their approximate locations give them some value, they are shown on the map. The Spraggon tract indicates approximately the position of part of "the way leading towards the mayne," near the head of the island.

From the preceding data the shape of the headland during the "James Citty" period, as exhibited on the map, was determined.

Since the first settlement of the island by the English, probably twenty acres at its western extremity have been lost by abrasion. The abraded area comprises principally parts of the uppermost three ridges, and a very small proportion of the fourth ridge. The tidal currents at Jamestown are too light to erode the clay of which the banks at the head of the island are formed. Wave action developed in the long reach of wide water extending in a northwesterly direction has been the destroying agent, the waves of every passing steam vessel contributing to the work of destruction.

From the observation of the height of storm waves at Jamestown Island, it seems evident that their abrading effect does not reach to greater depths than three or four feet below low water. The one fathom curve on the map, therefore, is considerably west of the extreme outer limits of the western shore line during the "James Citty" period.

* Va. Land Pat. Records, Book I, p. 466; Book II, pp. 11, 12; Book IV, p. 88.

LANDING PLACE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS.

THE trough of the channel off the head of the island has steep sides, and is from fifty to ninety feet deep. As it lies in a bed of dense, tough clay, the scouring effect of the light currents of the locality, continuing even for centuries, should be very slight. From the deposition of material worn from the island and the shore above, there has probably been a slight diminution of depth during the past three hundred years in the thalweg or deepest part of the channel, but little or none on its sides. The above remark is intended to apply particularly to the vicinity of Jamestown Island. At other localities on James River extensive batters have formed under projecting points between the trough of the channel and the shores.

The hydrographic contours off the western shore of the island show the channel gradually nearing that shore from above until it approaches to within about one hundred and seventy-five yards of it, about three hundred yards above the tower ruin (see contours on map). Below the ruin it gradually leaves the island and opposite the former site of the turf fort, hereinafter referred to, is about three hundred and fifty yards from the shore. The contours also exhibit a stretch of channel upwards of two hundred and fifty feet long at the point of divergence above the tower ruin, having its north side steeper than elsewhere in the above reach of river.

According to the rate of abrasion above determined, the island extended to the part of the channel having the steep sides during the seventeenth century.

According to Master George Percy's *Discourse*, the ships, at the first landing place of the settlers, were moored to trees standing on the river bank, contiguous to which the water depth was six fathoms. The modern contours of the channel, as has been pointed out, could not differ materially from those existing when the first settlement was made. The part of the side of the channel, therefore, which is steepest, and to which the island bank formerly extended, is manifestly the spot where the settlers debarked May 14, 1607, and of which Percy wrote, "where our

shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water."

The landing was well selected for convenience of discharging the ships' cargoes and very few similarly as well-conditioned exist on James River. As Archer's Hope, on the mainland opposite the lower end of the island, was regarded as a very desirable location for the first settlement, and was rejected only on account of its shore being made inaccessible to Newport's vessels by shallow water the day before the island was selected, it is apparent that the ease of discharging the vessels, cargoes directly on the river bank outweighed many other far more important considerations in deciding on the abiding place of the settlers.

LOCATION OF FIRST FORT AND TOWN.

THE first fort, "which was triangle wise, having three Bulwarkes at every corner like a halfe Moone and foure or five pieces of Artillerie mounted in them," was completed June 15—the 31st day after the first settlers disembarked.* As there is no information extant as to the site of the first fort, that detail will have to be arrived at inductively. It was not at the original landing place, for, from the letter of Sir Thomas Dale, of May 25, 1611,† "to the President and Counsell of the Companie of Adventurers and Planters in Virginia," it is learned that immediately after his arrival at James Towne to succeed Lord La Warre as deputy governor, "a bridge to land our goods safe and dry upon," *i. e.*, a wharf, was constructed by Captain Newport and "his Mariners." The construction of this wharf is alluded to in the "Breife Declaration,"‡ as follows:

"A framed Bridge was alsoe then erected, during Sir Thomas Smith's administration, which utterly decayed before the end of Sir Thomas Smith's government, that being the only bridge (any way soe to be called) that was ever in the country."

From the above it is obvious that the water was too shallow

* Percy's *Discourse*.

† *The Genesis of the United States*, p. 488.

‡ A Breife Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia, &c., *McDonald Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 103-142.

for vessels to lie against the shore in front of the fort, which, therefore, as above stated, was not at the original landing-place. It was, however, probably not far distant, for if otherwise, the settlers, with their limited means of carriage, would have been at great labor in moving their equipment, stores and ordnance. A natural site for the fort would have been just east of the valley at the upper extremity of the fourth ridge. Thus situated, the guns of its north bastion would have swept the branch of the swamp below and of the vale above, while those of its east and west bastions would have commanded the river front and the channel approaching from below, as did the guns of its successor, the Confederate fort of 1861. In the above described position the branch of the swamp between the second and fourth ridges would have afforded additional protection against the Indians. The third ridge was possibly strategically as favorable as the fourth, but its crest is two feet lower and its area above the level of great tides much smaller. It was, therefore, not as well adapted to the needs of the first settlers.

In excavating earth in 1861, at the head of the fourth ridge near the Confederate fort for its construction, pieces of armor and weapons of the early "James Towne" period were found, a good indication that the fort of 1607 was located about as above described. From the shore in front of it a wharf only about two hundred feet long would have been required to reach water twelve feet deep.

The parade ground where "the whole Company every Saturday exercised, in the plaine by the west Bulwarke, prepared for that purpose" * * * "where sometimes more than an hundred Salvages would stand in an amazement to behold, how a fyle would batter a tree, where he [Captain John Smith] would make them a marke to shoot at,"* was on the plateau at the head of the fourth ridge between the western curtain of the triangular fort and the little valley. As shown on the map, it was three hundred feet long and upwards of one hundred feet wide.

From the "Breife Declaration," it is learned that "After this first supplie" [January, 1608], "there were some few poore howses built, & entrance made in cleeringe of grounde to the

* Works, Captain John Smith, p. 433.

quantitye of foure acres for the whole Collony, hunger & sickness not permittinge any great matters to be donne that yeare." It does not seem probable that the clearing, on account of its small area, was made for agricultural purposes, for while Captain John Smith was president, probably in the spring of 1609, or about a year after the clearing of the four acres was begun, thirty or forty acres of ground were worked and planted.* Whatever may have been the purpose for which the four acre tract was intended, it is evident from what follows that it, or some other tract of the same area, was subsequently surrounded by a stockade and formed the town.

Further on in the same narrative by the ancient planters appears the following: "Fortification against a foreign enemy there was none, only two or three peeeces of ordinance mounted, & against a domestic [enemy] noe other but a pale inclosinge the Towne, to the quantitye of foure acres within which those buildings that weare erected, could not in any man's judgement, neither did stand above five yeares & that not without continuall reparations."

The part of the "Declaration" from which the above is extracted is ambiguous and obscure, Henrico and James Towne being described, as it were, in the same breath. It would appear, however, from the context that the four acres were at the latter place, and this view is indirectly confirmed by Ralph Hamor, who, as appears from the following, gives the area of Henrico as seven acres; "and in the beginning of September, 1611, he [Dale] set from Iamestown, and in a day & a halfe, landed at a place where he purposed to seate & builde, where he had not bin ten daies before he had very strongly impaled seuen English Acres of ground for a towne."†

There are no data available giving the slightest clue as to the situation of the four acres. It is believed that they included the area of one acre covered by the first fort, because the second paragraph above quoted from the "Declaration" states that the paled town covered four acres.

Shortly after Captain John Smith became president of the colony (September, 1608) the plan of the fort was reduced to

* *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 471.

† *A True Discourse of the present estate of Virginia*, p. 29.

"a five-square form."* This is construed to apply to the form of the town, after it was enlarged as noted above.

The safest, and, therefore, the most natural position for the three-acre addition, would have been adjoining the eastern bulwark of the triangular fort. From its southern end the miniature town, fronting the river, probably extended east about one hundred yards, thence in a northerly direction to and along the eastern wall of the present cemetery, thence northwesterly by "the old Greate Road" given as the eastern boundary of a tract granted John Howard in 1694,† and thence westerly by a line which subsequently formed the southern boundary of Richard Lawrence's tract, and in the line of its prolongation about at the level of great tides—eight feet above low water—to the north bastion of the triangular fort, whose western and southern bulwarks completed the inclosure. These lines would make the fort "a five-square form" or pentagon. "The old Greate Road," judging from its name, was of great antiquity. It was probably one of the first roads opened by the settlers, and passed along one of the paled sides of the early town, as above described.

The original triangular fort must have been maintained for several years, as an inner stronghold of the paled town. During Strachey's sojourn in the colony, from May, 1610, to the fall of 1611, the principal buildings were situated within it. The stockade around the part of the town outside of the fort proper was probably kept up for some time after the massacre of 1622, until the settlement gained a sufficient foothold to make it unnecessary as a defence against the Indians.

LOCATIONS OF BLOCK HOUSES.

FOR preventing incursions of the Indians across the isthmus, Captain John Smith, in the Spring of 1609, "built a Block-house in the neck of our Isle." This was replaced by a similar structure about 1624. The latter is referred to in a patent to John Bauldwin in 1656, which locates it approximately. It appears,

* Works, Captain John Smith, p. 433.

† Va. Land Patent Records, Book VIII, p. 82.

from the patent, that the later block house was near the earlier one. The ridge on which the block houses were placed, the first ridge, is referred to in the patents as Block House Hill. A "bank of earth not a flight shot long cast up thwart the neck of the peninsula" by Sir William Berkeley, in September, 1676, to oppose the entrance of Bacon's men to "James City"* must have been situated on the north side of Block House Hill at the southern end of the isthmus.

There were also, according to Ralph Hamor, two block houses "to observe and watch least the Indians at any time should swim over the back river and come into the Island." He does not, however, give their locations.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.

THE cluster of huts constituting the habitations of the first hundred settlers, enfolded in its chrysalis-like stockade, was hardly entitled to the appellation of town. The term city, given the collection of unpretentious brick buildings of a later day, was equally a misnomer.

For the details of the first structures erected, as of most other matters pertaining to the early settlement, Captain John Smith is the principal authority.

As the time of Newport's colony, immediately after its arrival in Virginia was occupied in exploring the country, building the stockade, and preparing a cargo for the return voyage of the ships, the building of quarters was neglected, and those erected were inadequate in number and afforded but imperfect shelter. The best of them were built of rails and roofed with marsh grass thatch covered with earth.† According to the "Breife Declaration," some of the settlers lived in holes in the ground, as is sometimes done on the western plains, where they are called "dug-outs."

* The Beginning, Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in the years 1675 and 1676, by T. M.—*Force's Historical Tracts*, Vol. I, p. 21.

† Works, Captain John Smith, p. 957. (The references in this monograph to "Works, Captain John Smith," are from Prof. Edward Arber's edition.)

After Newport's departure, hot weather and general illness of the party supervening, the completing of the huts was prevented until the fall of 1607.*

The first huts were destroyed by fire in January, 1608, and were not fully replaced until after Newport's departure for England, in April of that year,† about which time the clearing of the four acres was begun.

The huts which replaced those that were burned were more comfortable than the latter. Their sides were lined with Indian mats, and the roofs made of boards.‡ They were apparently without floors. Improvements were gradually made in hut construction by roofing with the bark of trees so as to shed water, probably in the same manner as half cylinder roofing tiles are used, and erecting "wide and large country chimnies," of wattles plastered with clay.§ About a year later twenty additional houses were added,|| and, when Captain Smith left the settlement in 1609, it had, according to his account, within the fort, then equipped with twenty-four guns of different calibers, of which, however, probably not over six were mounted in the bastions, besides the church and store house, forty or fifty of the above huts.° Dr. Simmonds states that there were fifty or sixty houses within the stockade,¶ where also was situated the well, prior to digging which the settlers drank the slimy, brackish water of the river, thus bringing on serious enteric troubles. The well water, naturally enough, was filled with organic matter and was sometimes brackish. It was found in an unsanitary condition by Dale in 1611, resulting probably from its proximity to the huts. Dale proposed, among other improvements to be made in the town, the digging of a new well. In 1617 the new well was found to be polluted."

The fort undoubtedly stood above the level of great tides, as otherwise, Captain John Smith or others would have referred in their writings to the discomforts arising from tidal inundations. Judging from the contours of the ground, at or adjoining the

* *Ibid*, pp. 10, 96, 392.

† *Ibid*, pp. 105, 409.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 502, 503.

§ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Lib. IX, p. 1752.

|| Works, Captain John Smith, pp. 154, 471.

° *Ibid*, p. 612.

¶ *Ibid*, p. 486.

^^ Works, Captain John Smith, p. 535.

site of the fort, its elevation was not less than seven or eight feet above low water.*

According to Strachey, whose writings show that he was well grounded in the humanities, although not so well versed in the science of numbers, the ground enclosed by the first fort had an area of a half-acre. The fort was a stockade about fourteen feet high, formed of trees set about four feet in the ground. Its south curtain or bulwark was one hundred and forty yards long and the other two sides one hundred yards each. It is inferred from each of the pales forming a load for two or three men, that they were eight to ten inches in diameter.†

It is very improbable that the fort had any earthworks. It had three entrances or ports, one through each curtain or bulwark, the principal one being through the south curtain. Within the stockade, facing each port, was a fieldpiece.

The huts were arranged in rows parallel to the curtains with a street thirty to thirty-six feet wide intervening. Within the hollow triangle formed by the lines of huts, and having probably an area of about a half acre, were the guard house, the market place and the chapel "in length three score foote in breadth twenty-foure."‡

Dr. Simmonds gives the width of the streets between the lines of huts and the palisades at eight to ten yards.§

In 1611, Sir Thomas Dale erected a "munition-house," a powder-house, a fish-house, a shelter-shed for cattle and a stable,|| and a few months later Sir Thomas Gates added a storehouse, covering a space of one hundred and twenty by forty feet and a number (not given) of log houses arranged in two rows, some

* The depth of the well in the fort is given by Strachey in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* at six or seven fathoms. This, evidently, is a misprint, and should read six or seven feet. The level of water in wells on the island follows that of the tides. The bottom of an ancient well on the third ridge is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet below low tide. A proper depth for a well in the fort would probably have been 7 to $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet, depending on the elevation of the ground.

† Works, Captain John Smith, p. 612.

‡ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Liber IX, pp. 1752, 1753.

§ Works, Captain John Smith, p. 407.

|| *The Genesis of the United States*, p. 492.

of which were two stories and a garret high. About this time also the stockade was repaired and a new gun platform placed at its western end, presumably at the point of the triangular fort known as the west bastion.* It is apparent that if all of the different structures above enumerated were situated within the triangular fort, whose area was a small fraction more than one acre, there would have remained little or no room for the three or four hundred people who sometimes constituted the population. Some of the buildings, therefore, were outside of the triangle and in other parts of the pale town. The place must now have presented an appearance similar to that of some of our earlier frontier posts.

On account of unseasoned or sappy timber being used for the log houses, but five or six remained serviceable in 1617.† No improvements, however, appear to have been made after Gates' second administration in 1614, or new buildings added except the wooden church last referred to, whose dimensions were fifty by twenty feet, until Sir George Yeardley's arrival in 1619.

In 1623 there were but twenty-two dwellings at "James City," a seemingly insufficient number to accommodate the new settlers who, on their way to the interior, for several years, had been arriving in large numbers. The massacre of 1622 and unfavorable reports of the colony published by several unprincipled partisans of Sir Thomas Smythe, treasurer or governor of the London Company, to create prejudice against and destroy confidence in the Virginia enterprise under the administrations of Sir Edwin Sandys, Smythe's successor, and of the Earl of Southampton, who succeeded Sandys, checked the growth of the colony and, to some extent, therefore, that of the town.

For many years the place apparently made little or no progress. On February 20, 1636, a law was enacted by the Grand Assembly‡ providing for a grant of a house lot and garden plot to every settler that would build thereon within six months. A similar law was made in 1638, and, as a result, twelve dwellings and stores, including the first brick house of the colony, sixteen

* Hamor's *True Discourse*, p. 33.

† Works, Captain John Smith, p. 535.

‡ Virginia Land Patent Records, Book I, p. 689.

by twenty-four feet in plan, were erected. Within the year following all the lots along the town's water front were patented.*

The patent records contain eight land grants made within the town precincts between 1636 and 1642.† In the latter year Sir William Berkeley, the new governor, arrived bearing instructions from the Royal government to rebuild the town with brick houses. According to the instructions every person who, "within a convenient time," should erect in any town of the colony a brick dwelling sixteen by twenty-four feet with a cellar would be granted five hundred acres of land. The colonial government was also empowered, in view of the existing town having proved unhealthy, to build a new one elsewhere, which, however, should bear the original name of "James Towne."‡ In March, 1643, the Grand Assembly framed a statute, according to which builders of houses on deserted lots in "James Citty" would acquire a title to the lot built on, provided the back quit rents were paid.§

The patent transcripts contain twelve issues for town lots between 1642 and 1662. At the close of the interregnum in 1661, during Sir William Berkeley's second term as governor of Virginia, he was again urged by the King to take steps to enlarge the town by erecting more houses, the monarch assuring him that "Wee will take it very well at their hands if they [the members of the colonial council] will each of them build one or more houses there."||

In deference to the King's wish, an act was passed at the next ensuing session of the Assembly, inhibiting the building of any more wooden houses, and prescribing that there should be erected at "James Citty" thirty-two brick houses, forty by twenty feet in plan inside, apparently two stories high, and

* *McDonald Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 247-249. Governor Harvey and Council to Privy Council, January, 1639.

† Virginia Land Patent Records, Book I, pp. 466, 587, 588, 595, 598, 689, 730. Reference is made hereinafter to the incompleteness of the records.

‡ Instructions to Governor Berkeley and Council, August, 1641.—*McDonald Papers*, Vol. I, p. 383.

§ *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. I, p. 252.

|| Instructions to Governor Berkeley, *McDonald Papers*, Vol. I, p. 414.

roofed with slate or tile.* Each of the seventeen counties was required to build, at its expense, one of the houses. The above attempt to force the town's growth was a failure, for in 1676, at the outbreak of Bacon's Rebellion, the community held but sixteen or eighteen dwellings, most "as is the church built of brick, faire and large; and in them a dozen families (for all the houses are not inhabited) getting their liveings by keeping of ordinaries at extreordinary rates."† The unoccupied houses were some of those which had been ordered built by statute of December, 1662, but had never been completed,‡ most probably on account of the poverty of their builders.

In 1676 the entire town was destroyed by Bacon as a strategic measure.

In 1682, Lord Culpeper, the governor, received instructions from England to rebuild, the royal good will being again tendered, as in the message to Berkeley of 1661, to the members of the council and prominent citizens of the town who should initiate the work. Two good houses had at that time been erected by Colonel Bacon the elder, and others were either under construction or proposed. Lord Culpeper's reply to the King's message contains a reason for the town's lack of recuperative power. "I have given all encouragement possible for the rebuilding of James Citty, The Generall Courts, publick offices, and meetings of Assemblies having been alwayes kept there, And Greenspring (the nearest convenient habitation) My place of Residence. But there being an Apprehension in many persons that there are other places in the Country more proper for a Metropolis, And that the aforesaid Act for Building Townes, would make one in the most naturall place, there hath not till now of late been Any Great Advance therein. As to the proposall of Building Houses by those of the Councell and the cheefe Inhabitants, It hath been once attempted in vaine, nothing but profit and advantage can doe it, and then there will be noe need of Anything else."§

In 1697 the number of houses in the town was reported to be twenty or thirty.

* *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. II, p. 172.

† Burwell MS., *Force's Historical-Tracts*, Vol. I, *Bacons Proseedings*.

‡ British State Papers, Colonial, No. 62.

§ *McDonald Papers*, Vol. VI, p. 165.

In 1698, the royal mandate to build up the town was reiterated to Governor Nicholson, but before any steps could be taken to act on it, a fire occurred, by which the statehouse and prison,* and probably all other buildings on the third ridge, were destroyed.

At a session of the General Assembly held in April, 1699, acts were passed for establishing the city of Williamsburg (about eight miles north-east of "James Towne"), for erecting a statehouse there and providing for raising funds to defray its cost by imposing an import tax on slaves, also on servants not born in England or Wales, brought to the colony.†

After the fire of 1698, "James City" waned. One patent for a small tract in the town, issued in October, 1699,‡ is of record, but no new houses are known to have been erected. Twenty-three years later, the place comprised nothing but "Abundance of Brick Rubbish, and three or four good inhabited Houses, tho' the Parish is of pretty large Extent, but less than others."§ In 1807, there were two dwellings on the island, the Jacquelin-Ambler and Travis mansions, and in 1861, but one, the former, which was burned during the ensuing war. The above house was afterwards rebuilt, and again burned in 1896. The ground on which it formerly stood was probably owned by Sir Francis Wyatt in 1623. At some time prior to 1690 it belonged to John Page, clerk of the Assembly, from whom it was purchased by William Sherwood.||

POPULATION OF THE TOWN AND COLONY.

DURING the first eighteen years of the settling of Virginia there were great fluctuations in the population of the colony, and also of "James Forte" and "James Towne." Each influx of new life was followed by a more or less rapid ebbing of the human tide, resulting from the ravages of disease and the tomahawk. During the first eight months the fort's population

* *The Present State of Virginia*, by Hugh Jones, A. M., p. 25.

† *Henning's Statutes*, Vol. III, pp. 193 and 197.

‡ Va. Land Pat. Records, Book IX, p. 232.

§ *The Present State of Virginia*, by Hugh Jones, A. M., p. 25.

|| Va. Land Pat. Records, Book VIII, p. 384.

dwindled from one hundred and five to a little band of thirty-eight persons, the smallest number that the colony ever held. By the arrival of several reinforcements during the twenty-one months following (January, 1608, to October, 1609), its population was increased to upwards of 490.* Within eight months the above number was reduced by death from starvation, climatic illness, and pestilence, to about sixty persons. Fresh accessions under Gates and La Warre in June, 1610, brought the number up to about 350, most of whom were quartered in the town. In a few months this number was diminished by death to about 200. Thus far about 900 persons had been sent from England to Virginia, of whom about 700 had perished.

Between December, 1606, and November, 1619, it is estimated that 2,540 persons emigrated to Virginia, of whom 1,640 died.† Between the latter date and February, 1625, 4,749 colonists came to Virginia and 4,400 died, thus making a total mortality in about nineteen years of 6,040, out of 7,289.‡

According to John Wroth, a member of the Warwick faction, up to 1623, 3,570 out of 5,270 colonists died in the four years ending with 1622.§ Captain Nathaniel Butler represented that up to the winter of 1622, the mortality was 8,000 out of 10,000,|| while the resident colonists declared that up to the winter of 1622 not over 6,000 were sent to Virginia, of whom 2,500 were living.¶ Captain John Smith says: "neere 7,000 people" out of 8,500 had died to 1627.°

As pointed out above, there were in June, 1610, about 350 people at "James Towne." In 1616, there were on the entire island fifty persons, under Lieutenant Sharpe. It is stated that in the following year there were 400 persons at "James Towne," of whom, on account of sickness, only one-half were effective."

* Works, Captain John Smith, p. 486. The numbers reported brought by different vessels indicate a less number.

† *The First Republic in America*, pp. 285, 329.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 612.

§ *The Genesis of the United States*, p. 1064.

|| *The Unmasked Face*.

¶ *The Denial of Nathaniel Butler's "The Unmasked Face," Neill's History of the Va. Company*, p. 405.

° Works, Captain John Smith, p. 884.

“*Ibid*, p. 536.

A census taken in 1623 gives the population of the town at 183. It also shows that during the preceding year, eighty-nine had died in the town.*

Although "James City" had now assumed more of the proportions of a town, it possessed none of the attractions or allurements which would demand expenditures of money, and probably but few opportunities for making it by trade. The simple, primitive tastes of the settlers, coupled with their general poverty, made shops superfluous. In 1625 the town had one merchant's store.† An attempt was made in 1649 to hold a bi-weekly market. This was a complete failure and, six years later, the act providing for the market was repealed.‡

Nearly all who came to the colony, except the officials, had all to make and little to spend. The population of the town, therefore, did not keep pace with that of the colony, in which, after about the first twenty-five years, it slowly but steadily increased. In 1634 it amounted to 5,119;§ in 1649, to 15,000;|| in 1665, to 40,000;¶ in 1681, to 70,000 or 80,000;° and in 1715 to 95,000." The function of the town was that of furnishing a place for the assembling of the legislature and for holding courts. Its permanent population, after about 1623, comprised only a part of the bureaucracy of the colony, and tavern keepers, with their respective families, amounting possibly to one hundred persons, which approximate number was periodically doubled by the meetings of the assembly and court.

* McDonald Papers, Vol. I.

† *The First Republic in America*, p. 623.

‡ *Henning's Statutes*, Vol. I, pp. 362, 397.

§ State Papers, Colonial, Vol. 8, No. 65, 1634, De Jarnette Papers.

|| Force's *Historical Tracts*, Vol. II. *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, p. 1.

¶ Winder Papers, Vol. I, p. 187.

° Sainsbury Abstracts, Vol. 1681-1685, par. 275. Of this number 76 per cent. were freemen.

" Chalmer's *American Colonies*, Vol. II, p. 7.

SUFFERINGS OF THE EARLY COLONISTS.

THE settlement near the head of Jamestown Island was at first called "James Forte" and "James Towne," usually the latter. After the fort was enlarged in 1608, and until about 1620, or shortly after the close of Sir Thomas Smythe's administration as governor of the London Company, it was almost invariably referred to by the latter appellation.

The sufferings of the colonists during the above period have probably never been surpassed or even equalled in measure or degree in any other pioneer colony. Under the Smythe regime the colonists' greatest sufferings resulted from hunger. Hand in hand with famine stalked pestilence, yellow fever communicated by vessels bound for "James Towne" which had touched at the West Indies, and bubonic plague and cholera brought from London. Fevers and dysentery resulting from exposure, noxious exhalations from the surrounding marshes and from forest mould for the first time exposed to the heat of the summer sun, and impure water, did their share in decimating the colony. The remedies then in use doubtless increased the mortality, bringing fatal results to many who, without them, would have recovered. That the leaders did not succumb was no doubt largely due to nearly all being in the prime of manhood and inured to hardship through the campaigns against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, by which experience they had learned how to avert some of the bad effects of camp life.

As the colonists were but meagerly supplied with provisions from England and raised but few food products, their labor being principally employed in producing tobacco and other articles for export, for the benefit of the London Company, their subsistence during the first four or five years was derived principally from the Indian, either by force or barter. They were not permitted to engage in planting on their own account, except on condition of contributing a part of their crops and one month's services annually to the London Company. Their letters to and from England were intercepted and proffers of assistance to the company in behalf of individual colonists from their friends were declined, with the assurance that they were well provided for. None was allowed to leave Virginia, except by

special permission, and it is narrated that a passport from the King for the return of a colonist to England was sewed in a garter to insure its delivery.*

The settlers were, to all purposes, in a state of servitude, from which, as a special favor, some were offered release on condition of working three years on Fort Charles. The abhorrence with which life in the colony was regarded is exemplified by a statement in a letter from the Spanish Ambassador in London to Philip III. of Spain, in December, 1616, that while two of three thieves under sentence of death availed themselves of the alternative of going to Virginia, the third preferred hanging.†

The climax of suffering was reached when on June 7, 1610, the sixty survivors of four hundred and ninety settlers of but eight months before, broken in health and crushed in spirit, turned their backs on the odious town where tragedy had been almost continually enacted for three years. So deeply impressed by the abject misery of this remnant had been the members of the lately arrived party of Sir Thomas Gates that they had readily joined in the flight from suffering and horrors which they believed would be their lot if they tarried at the ill-favored spot. This, the climax of the critical period of the colony, was safely passed when the astute La Warre, newly appointed governor of Virginia, being apprised on his arrival from England at Point Comfort of the intended abandonment of the colony, thwarted the plan by despatching Captain Brewster ahead of his fleet to meet the forlorn party, and turned it back to the deserted post, where the tragedy was renewed for another and longer term of years.

An amelioration of the colonists' condition was brought about by the election in 1619, of Sir Edwin Sandys, as successor to Sir Thomas Smythe, to the office of treasurer or governor of the London Company. Even before the new administration was elected, the former policy of the company, which had been actuated by commercial avarice, was abandoned, through the influence of the Sandys party, which inaugurated in its stead one inspired by broad and liberal views. The "most severe and

**A Briefe Declaration*, etc., McDonald Papers, Vol. I, pp. 103-142.

† *The Genesis of the United States*, p. 900.

cruel" "Lavves, Diuine, Morall and Martiall," were repealed, and courts of justice established after the manner of those of the mother country; the "ancient planters" who had arrived before the time of Dale were released from further service to the colony, land titles were confirmed and the individual ownership of land introduced by patent. The colony was also allowed to elect its own legislative body. The last mentioned privilege, however, although enjoyed in 1619, does not appear to have been officially promulgated until the publication of the written constitution in 1621,* under the administration of Sir Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who had succeeded Sir Edwin Sandys in 1620. These reforms and privileges stimulated the colony to renewed efforts and led to the development of its principal town.

"THE NEW TOWNE."

THE new policy of the company was carried out by Sir George Yeardley, whose methods were in striking contrast with those of his predecessor, the unprincipled Argall. This marked the beginning of a new era in the colony, of which a feature was "the New Towne," as it was styled in the patents to its residents, with new and better constructed habitations.

One of the thoroughfares of "the New Towne" is referred to in the patents as "the Back Street." As will appear below, "the New Towne" at first comprised the most important part of the corporation, and, as a matter of fact, seems to have been the first substantially built town. Prior to its establishment, land appears not to have been perfectly vested in the settlers. With the beginning of this era and ever after, the place is referred to in the surviving patent transcripts, with the single exception of one of 1664, in which it is called "James Towne," as "James Citty." It is also invariably so referred to in the reports of the meetings of the General or Grand Assembly. The island and containing county were named from the town, the county still bearing the name of James City.

Although the official name of the place was "James Citty," it was generally referred to in official correspondence as "James Towne."

* *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. I, pp. 110, 111, 112.

As it is the general opinion that the greater part of the ancient town site has been washed away, it will be a pleasant surprise to many to learn that this view is erroneous. The proof of the error is furnished by the old "James Citty" patent records, which, when properly interpreted, show that but a small proportion of the town site has been destroyed, and that the quarter called "the New Towne" has not been encroached on to any appreciable extent by the river. References in some of the patents to branches of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp," and to other topographical features which are probably almost as clearly defined as they were two or three centuries ago, have made it possible to locate the site of "the New Towne," and the greater part of the west end, or old town quarter. Former students of the records have either abandoned them with the conviction that they were too indefinite or obscure for solution, or misconstruing them, evolved incoherent conclusions which have misled and confused the reader. The transcripts pertaining to "James Citty," which are valued principally as old curios, form a labyrinth, in treading which for a long time, a step in any direction led seemingly to hopeless perplexities, and only after repeated and long continued efforts to interpret them, was the "open sesame" found, and a sufficient number linked together to furnish a chart of the ancient town. The period they cover extends from 1619 to 1699. The pages of the record containing two of the earliest and most interesting grants, viz: to Governor Sir George Yeardley, Knt., and Captain Roger Smith, as stated in the introduction, are missing. This will be generally regretted, as possibly on account of their not having been correctly deciphered, the renditions contained in historical publications are not clear.

The method employed in evolving the chart from the patents, although apparently not complicated, was slow, tedious, and replete with failures. Briefly stated, it consisted of finding and uniting plats of different tracts found to have common boundaries. The topography and objects referred to in the patents were platted simultaneously with the boundaries of the land they described.

The incompleteness of the existing records is made apparent by the references in several transcripts to patents which are not

of record. Those missing were no doubt improperly entered "in books labelled Bonds, Commissions, Depositions," &c.,* which no longer exist. Although the records are incomplete, and the descriptions in some of those available contain inaccuracies which required considerable study to correct, while those in others are too meagre or vague to afford any clue to the land's position, they, in many cases, not only furnish the metes and bounds of the area patented, but also a variety of other information, *e. g.*, the ancient names of different localities of the town and island, the positions and directions of the river-bank and highways, the sites of the second fort, called "the turf fort," "the Back Street," in "the New Towne," "the Country House," burned, probably, about 1660, the several statehouse buildings, dwellings of some of the later residents, and other objects now of great interest. A few of the earlier patents record the vocation and social position of the patentee and even the name of the ship in which he came to Virginia, and the year of arrival.

The majority of the plats based on the patents, and represented on the map by solid lines, probably possess about the same degree of accuracy as the work of the average class of compass surveys of to-day. Between 1623 and 1644 only the general directions of land lines are given in the descriptions. About the latter year the surveyors were apparently less inexact and recorded azimuths to the nearest quarter point, or about $2\frac{3}{4}$ degrees. In a patent of 1656 the azimuths of several sides are given to $\frac{1}{8}$ point.

The direction of the Back Street in the Pott patent of 1624 is recorded as "eastward." The azimuth of the street is definitely learned from the Phips patent, which included the Pott patent, and was issued thirty-two years later, to have been E. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.

Until about 1667 the azimuths of lines were expressed in the same terms as are employed by mariners in boxing the compass. Beginning with the above year, azimuths are given in degrees. By 1683, more careful work appears to have been the rule, and azimuths are recorded to one-fourth of a degree. It would appear from the foregoing that prior to about 1667 some

**Hening's Statutes*, Vol. II, p. 509.

form of the mariner's compass was used in making land surveys, and that about that year the circumferentor came into use.

The consideration on account of which land was granted was always specified in the patent. During the first twenty years it was usually a reimbursement to the patentee of the cost of his own transportation and that of others to the colony, which he had defrayed. The portions of land are styled *devidends** and *dividents*, and were for fifty acres per capita. The grant was conditioned by the annual payment of a nominal sum of money (one shilling per 50 acres) or quantity of tobacco (two to five pounds), designated a fee rent. The fee was made payable in money or tobacco to the "Cape Merchant," as the treasurer was called, either at the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, or at that of St. Thomas, the Apostle. In at least two of the "James Citty" patents the specified fee is a capon, "to his Majestie's use," payable "at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle."† A condition named in some patents between 1636 and 1640 is that the patentee should erect a house within six months.‡

The "James Citty" patents usually describe the grant as being a part of a dividend of fifty acres, or more, situated outside the liberties of the town.

Several patents issued under Cromwell were subsequently confirmed by being re-issued under Charles II.

The transcripts of the patents are the sole remaining evidence authoritatively fixing the initial spot of the nation's history, as almost all other records, including those of the early conveyances, were burned during the War between the States.

The patents relating to "James Citty" are scattered through nine ponderous volumes of MSS. Book I, on account of its antiquity, is the most interesting of the series. As shown by his indorsement at the end of the book, the transcript was made by Edward Harrison in 1683, or nearly a century before the United States attained its independence. The handwriting is clear and uniform and to one familiar with the characters then employed, is readily deciphered.

* This orthography is given in some of the earlier patents.

† Virginia Land Patent Records, Book I, p. 689, and Book IV, p. 475.

‡ Virginia Land Patent Records, Book I, p. 689, and Book IV, p. 475.

The abbreviation "y" for *th* in *the* and *that* does not appear in this book, which includes the issues up to and during a part of the year 1643. Its first occurrence is in Book VII, in the patent to Edward Chilton, of 1683. The lower case ancient script letter "p" frequently appears as an abbreviation for *per* or *par* in the patents of the entire "James City" period.

The second volume is indorsed "Beverly," probably Peter Beverly, who from 1692 to 1700 was clerk of the House of Burgesses, and in the latter year became its speaker. The book was written in 1694. There are no indorsements in the other books to show when they were written or the names of the scribes.

The first two books were undoubtedly written at "James City," and, after escaping the State house fire of 1698, and that of the Capitol at Williamsburg about 1747, were probably moved to Richmond in 1780, when that city became the capital. They have thus passed through two ordeals of fire and two wars and, after silently witnessing many vicissitudes of fortune, rest in the historic Capitol at Richmond.

There does not appear to be any record of legislative enactment defining the limits of "James City" except one of "Bacon's Laws," passed in 1676, by which those then existing were extended to include the entire island.* The above act, unfortunately, does not recite the previous limits. Shortly after the Bacon uprising was suppressed and the Berkeley government re-instated, the above law was repealed.

Beverly wrote in 1705, that in 1620, the corporations, as they were then styled, were bounded, and that one of the new record books of transcripts contained a statement of Governor Argall to the effect that he had a knowledge of the boundaries of "James City." He, however, adds that "there was not to be found one word of the charter or patent itself of the corporation."† The patent to Captain John Harvey in 1624 shows that the lower branch of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp" was the town's eastern boundary.

The patents indicate that the town included nearly all of the

* *Hening Statutes*, Vol. II, p. 362.

† *History of the Present State of Virginia*, p. 37.

island above the "Head of Swamp," between James River and the Back River (see map), and that the first and second ridges formed, as it were, outlying districts. They show clearly that after 1623, the most thickly settled part of the town was the "New Towne," on the south shore of the island, below the church.

About the time of Bacon's Rebellion, according to "Bacon's Proseedings," of unknown authorship, in the Burwell MSS. collection,* the town was situated "much about the midle of the Sowth line, close upon the River, extending east and west, about 3 quarters of a mile." This description accords with its location as determined from the patents and shown on the map between the initial letters F and G. The church tower, therefore, stood near the western end of the town.

"The New Towne" was situated on the southern slope of the same ridge as the tower ruins (the fourth) and extended east from the first town of four acres, about three-eighths of a mile, to the lower branch of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp." This area is now mostly covered with orchards, in which considerable portions of the ground are filled with particles of brick and mortar of former buildings, scattered by the plow.

Back Street was east of the church and at distances from the south shore of the island varying from two hundred to six hundred feet. The parts of it located were about sixty feet wide,† and had the same general direction, east and west, as the highway referred to in the patents as the "way along the Greate River," or "Maine River," which constituted the front street of the "New Towne." The two thoroughfares were connected by cross lanes, referred to as highways. The Back Street lay immediately in front of what is believed to have been the site of the Jacquelin-Ambler mansion. It could not have been a street in the modern signification of the word, with sidewalks and pavements, for paving before the doors of houses, even in "London Towne," was not introduced until 1614. It seems to have merged into the "old Greate Road," which led to the

* Force's *Historical Tracts*, Vol. I.

† Obtained by platting independently the tracts on opposite sides of the street.

head of the island and passed near the northeast corner of the old churchyard, a few rods from the same corner of the present one, near which there appear to be traces of a road.

Traces of the highway along the river-bank, bordered by its gnarled and riven mulberries, lineal descendants, no doubt, of some cited in several patents as reference trees, are still to be seen. The planting of mulberry trees for feeding silkworms was initiated in 1621, and made compulsory by statute. Silk culture received attention as early as 1614, but the enterprise was never a commercial success. Foreign workmen were imported to teach silk making, and a present of silk was sent Charles II by Sir William Berkeley in 1668.*

Among the earlier residents of "the New Towne" were some "people of qualitie" and note, including four governors, Sir George Yeardley, Knight; Sir Francis Wyatt, Knight; Sir John Harvey, Knight, "Mister, Governor and Doctor Pott," "Doctor of Physick" and "Physician General to the Colony;" also Captain Ralph Hamor, secretary of state and chronicler; George Sandys, who, while there and residing at William Pierce's (see map), achieved a part of his work of turning into English Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; Captain Roger Smith, Captain Richard Stevens, who wounded George Harrison in a duel near "James Citty," and George Menify, merchant and member of the council, who married the relict of John Rolfe, whose second wife was Pocahontas. The grounds of the above persons are shown more or less accurately on the map.

Sir George Yeardley's grounds had an area of seven acres, one rood, and appear to have extended from the branch of the swamp to the Back River. The area of Governor Wyatt's tract is not known. It included the ground, where, at a later day,

*The present of silk, it is stated, was woven into a coronation robe for King Charles. As soon as the King graciously signified his acceptance of the above *douceur*, Sir William presented a petition asking, as a special allowance, the customs duties on a ship's cargo of tobacco. The King adroitly parried this request by sending a warrant for the allowance requested, but payable when Sir William should send to England from Virginia a 300-ton ship laden with silk, hemp, flax, and potatoes. (Sainsbury's Abstracts, June 12, 1669.) It does not appear that the governor ever sent the above shipload of commodities and received the reward.

stood the Jacquelin-Ambler mansion. Dr. Pott first patented three acres and a few years later added nine acres. Captain Roger Smith's lot was four acres.

In 1665, there was a bridge across the branch of swamp near the northwest corner of the former twelve acre tract of Governor Pott,* connecting the fourth and second ridges. There is a causeway at the above point which may have been the bridge. This probably was the same bridge referred to in the rendition of the Yeardley patent contained on page 68 of Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*.

Among the later residents of "the New Towne" were Captain George Marable, John Barber, Robert Castle, John Phips, Thos. Woodhouse, John Fitchett, John Knowles and Rev. William Mays. A list of the last residents after Bacon's Rebellion would include the names of Henry Hartwell, Clerk of the Court, John Howard, Richard Holder, Lieutenant-Colonel Chiles, John Page, and although last, not least, Wm. Sherwood, the epitaph on whose tombstone in the little churchyard tells that he was "Born In the Parish Of White Chappell Near London. A Great Sinner Waiting For A Ioyfull Resurrection." Sherwood, during Bacon's Rebellion, was an adherent of Sir William Berkeley. He was attorney-general, 1678-1680. In 1694 he was the proprietor of upwards of three hundred acres of land at the head of the island, including the outlying extreme western part of the town above the upper branch of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp," and a small part of the "New Towne" adjacent to Back Street.

The elevated position of the part of the fourth ridge north of the Back Street, between the site of the Jacquelin-Ambler messuage and the grounds of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, should have made it much sought after for residential purposes. There are some indications of there being house foundations along the line of the Back Street. The names of their occupants can probably never be ascertained, as there are apparently no documents containing that information.

In the address of ex-president Tyler, delivered at Jamestown in 1857 at the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the first landing of the English, he remarked in referring to the destruc-

* Va. Land Pat. Records, Book V, p. 63.

tion of the town by Bacon in 1676: "The town was partially rebuilt, and many of its houses remained during my early novitiate at William and Mary College" (1802-1807). "They stood in a connected street running east and west from near the present dwelling-house (The Jacquelin-Ambler mansion) to the ruins of the church."

The foundations just mentioned probably belonged to the buildings alluded to by President Tyler. "The connected street running east and west" undoubtedly *was* the Back Street.

"The New Towne" was always inhabited until "James City" ceased to exist, the names of various owners of land in that quarter, belonging to different generations, being shown by the patents. Individuals bearing the surnames of many of the former townspeople are still to be found within one hundred miles of the site of "James City."

WEST END OF THE TOWN.

THE positions of land grants east of the church tower ruin being determined and the "New Towne" accurately located, investigation was made for the area west of the above ancient landmark. This resulted in placing approximately several early grants, previously referred to, near the head of the island on its western shore and in establishing quite satisfactorily the situation of the Baldwin grant of 1656, which locates Block House Hill, also in showing the positions of the grants of John Howard, Robert Beverly, the historian, Richard Lawrence, the compatriot of Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., Edward Chilton, attorney-general, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon the elder, Lieutenant Edward Ross, Colonel Philip Ludwell the first,* and Philip Ludwell, Esq. (the second), of 1694. The last named grant fixes the position of the last state house.

* Philip I was member of the Virginia Council for many years; was expelled therefrom in 1679, reinstated in 1683 and again expelled in 1687 and disqualified for holding office; governor of Carolina 1689-'92; subsequently resided in London and died in England after 1716. Philip II, born 1666, died 1720. Speaker of House and member of Council. Buried at Jamestown.

The tract described is an undated patent to John Howard of about 1690,* which Governor Sir Francis Nicholson failed to sign, but which was signed by Governor Sir Edmund Andros in 1694, is approximately located by the present churchyard inclosure (see map).

From the above patent it is learned that the direction of the "old Greate Road" near and north of the churchyard was N. $27\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ W. What would seem to be marks of this road are visible at the above locality, as before mentioned. Its objective point was probably the isthmus. The parts of the road shown on the map not fixed by the patents are tentative.

From the Howard patent it is learned that Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, the second cousin of the patriot of the same name, owned a lot adjoining the Howard tract on the west. It would also appear from agreeing in bearing, that its northern boundary was part of one of the southern boundaries of part of a lot that once belonged to the scholarly Lawrence, sequestered on account of its owner's participation in Bacon's Rebellion, and bought by Colonel Bacon, Senior, in 1683—possibly because it adjoined his tract. Lawrence's house, according to T. M.'s account of Bacon's Rebellion,† was one of the finest in the town. The remainder of the Lawrence tract probably extended east of that bought by Bacon. On using the common boundary line of the Howard and Lawrence plats, and placing the former in what appears to be its proper position near the graveyard, the latter is found to have for its northern boundary the branch of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp," which accords with the description in the patent.

The patent of the Lawrence tract‡ fixes the position, as its western boundary, of a grant to Robert Beverly in 1694, which in turn furnishes the position of "The Maine Cart road," probably another name for "the old Greate Road," leading, most probably, past the well about one rod east of the state house building on the third ridge, towards the isthmus and Block House Hill.

* Virginia Land Patent Records, Book VIII, p. 82.

† Force's *Historical Tracts*, Vol. I.

‡ Virginia Land Patent Records, Book VII, p. 300.

A correspondence of the course of the western line of a tract granted to William Edwards* in 1690 with that of the eastern line of the Chilton tract locates the Edwards tract, and through it the western line of a lot of Nathaniel Bacon, Senior. The eastern boundary of the Bacon tract, as has been pointed out, was the Howard tract. Bacon's lot, therefore, occupied the greater part of the eastern half of the space on which stands the Confederate fort of 1861.

The locating of the tracts immediately following led to locating the foundations of the third and fourth state houses, the discovery of which, therefore, resulted from a study of the patent transcripts, followed by probing and excavation.

The tract of Philip Ludwell, of 1694, being platted, its most probable location, after correcting for declination the bearings of its lines as given in the patent, was found to be on the third ridge, near the southern end of the seawall. This was decided upon after considerable study and reflection, taking into account the distance from "Pitch and Tarr Swamp" of the crest of the third ridge, which appeared to be a good site for the three houses shown by the patent to have been on the tract. Although the above location seemed to be the only one which would meet the requirements of the patent, it was not finally accepted until, as shown later, it was confirmed by further investigation.

The tract of Edward Chilton, patented in 1683, was next platted. A clue to its location was furnished by one of its boundary lines terminating "neer ye brick fort," which fort, in 1688, was described by the Rev. John Clayton as being situated in "a vale," above the town, and consequently, above the church tower. A probable position for the brick fort, fulfilling the conditions imposed by the above description, seemed to be in the extension westward from the river bank of the swale between the third and fourth ridges. This view was confirmed by the discovery, by sounding, of piles of masonry in the shallow water at the locality named. The Chilton tract thus being approximately located with reference to the brick fort, valuable inform-

* *Ibid*, Book VIII, p. 42.

ation was furnished as to the character and position of the adjacent shoreline, a bluff bank, lying about east and west. A most important and interesting feature, however, is yet to be noted, viz., that when the Chilton tract (1683) was given its most probable location on the map, it was found to connect with the assumed location of Philip Ludwell's (1694) tract. Moreover, the northern boundary of the Chilton tract which passed "partly along his Hon'rs line" (Hon. Philip Ludwell) is shown by the patents to have the same magnetic bearing as the southern boundary of the Philip Ludwell tract of 1694. The grantee of the 1694 tract, entitled Philip Ludwell, Esq., was undoubtedly the son of the Hon. Philip Ludwell referred to in the Chilton patent. It seems probable that Philip Ludwell the second received part of his grant of 1694, the southern, from his father, who owned it in 1683, and possibly also the three brick houses, for the patent implies that the houses belonged to the second Ludwell before its date of issue in 1694.

The patent of 1694 states that Philip Ludwell, Esq., had land due him for the transportation of one person to Virginia, and he naturally selected a new piece adjacent to that which he then held, probably north of the houses, receiving a grant for the new and old tracts combined. Instances are found in the old patent records of a patent being issued covering earlier grants that were contiguous to that acquired at the time of issuing the later patent.

The proximity of the first Philip Ludwell's property to the state house may account, to some extent, for the interest which he had in rebuilding the state house destroyed by Bacon, for which work he was, in fact, the contractor.

The plat of Chilton (1683) and Ludwell (1694) being thus united, trial was made to ascertain if their combined plats could be better located than when platted separately. It was found, however, that no change could be made that would improve the first location, and the author concluded that the time had arrived to verify his work by examining the ground. An opportunity for doing this occurred in January, 1903, when, to his great satisfaction, and that of a co-worker, the steel probe used for exploring the ground, struck a number of buried foundation walls. The subsequent work of the Association for the Preser-

vation of Virginia Antiquities, under his direction, has confirmed his views, the foundations discovered being within less than 25 feet of their position as indicated by the Ludwell patent, and having the same width collectively as given for the Ludwell tract. Moreover, after correcting for variation of the needle, the different walls were found to have about the same azimuths as the boundaries of the Ludwell tract, given in the patent.

Adjoining the Ludwell house foundations on the east are others agreeing in a general way with the meagre descriptions extant of the state house, and to the west others, which are, of course, the remains of the "Country House" of 1694.

Further references to the above state house and brick fort are made under their respective captions.

Near the lower extremity of the seawall, and just outside of it, formerly stood a brick building, which Richard Randolph stated in 1837 was reputed to have been a powder magazine.* This building was referred to in ex-President Tyler's address at Jamestown in 1857,† previously quoted from, as the prison house of Opechancanough. He also stated that its cellar had been formerly used for the storage of powder. If used as a magazine, uncommonly bad judgment was displayed in placing it where it would have been such a good target for a hostile fleet and where also in event of an explosion, it would have damaged or destroyed the buildings on the third ridge. The allusion to it as the prison of Opechancanough is suggestive of its being used as a jail, although probably not for the Indian chief who died a captive at Jamestown shortly after the massacre of 1644.

In 1891 the eastern foundation wall was all that remained of the reputed "magazine." It was then located and found to be about thirty-two feet long. If it was a prison, it probably was not built until after 1685, in which year the subject of building a prison was brought up in the Assembly; if a magazine, it was probably erected at an earlier date, possibly about the time that the brick fort, hereinafter described, was constructed.

Incidentally, it may be stated that the third ridge was used as a camp ground for Confederate soldiers in 1861.

* *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. III, p. 303.

† Celebration of the 250th anniversary of the English settlement at Jamestown, May 13, 1857.

CHURCH BUILDINGS AND ORIGINAL GRAVEYARD.

ONE of the vexed questions concerning the first settlement is the position of the first churchyard or graveyard. It is learned from several old chronicles that the first two churches were within the first fort. The map of the Virginia settlement, procured by Zuniga, for Philip III of Spain, in September, 1608, previously referred to, shows a church thus inclosed.

The first church, a rude hut "covered with rafts, sedge and earth," was burned within eight months of its erection. The second, erected in 1608, to replace the first, must also have been a flimsy makeshift, for it is referred to by Sir Thomas Gates, two years after its construction, as being in an unserviceable condition, shortly after which it was reconstructed by La Warre. Its dimensions in plan were sixty feet long by twenty-four feet wide, with a steeple at the west end.

When, in 1617, Captain Argall arrived at "James Towne," he discovered the church which La Warre had renovated seven years before in ruins, a storehouse being in use for divine service. During his administration, *i. e.*, from May, 1617, to April, 1619, the third church, whose dimensions were "50 by 20 foote," was erected.

In 1639 Governor Sir John Harvey wrote to the Privy Council: "Such hath bene our Indeavour herein, that out of our owne purses wee have largely contributed to the building of a brick church, and both Masters of Shippes and others of the ablest Planters have liberally by our persuasion underwritt to this worke."*

No information is available as to when the building was begun or completed, but the latter is supposed to have been accomplished by about 1647. It was burned in 1676.

The fifth structure was in all probability erected during the partial rebuilding of the town between 1676 and 1686. There is not apparently available any information on the subject. It is not unlikely that only the woodwork of the fourth church was burned in 1676, and that the last church was the former struc-

* Letter from Governor and Council in Virginia to Privy Council, McDonald Papers, Vol. II, pp. 233-260.

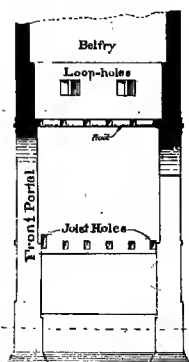


Fig. 3

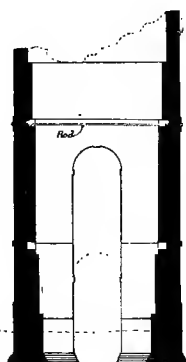


Fig. 4

Explanation:

Fig. 1= Foundation Plan of Fourth Church Structure Inclosing Fragments of Foundations of Third. Broken Lines Show Correct Positions of Buttresses.

Fig. 2 Front of Tower.

Fig. 3 Section on Line A-B.

Fig. 4 " " " C-D.

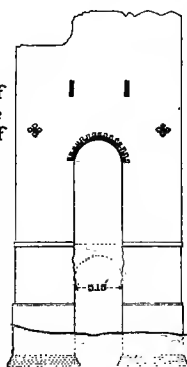


Fig. 2

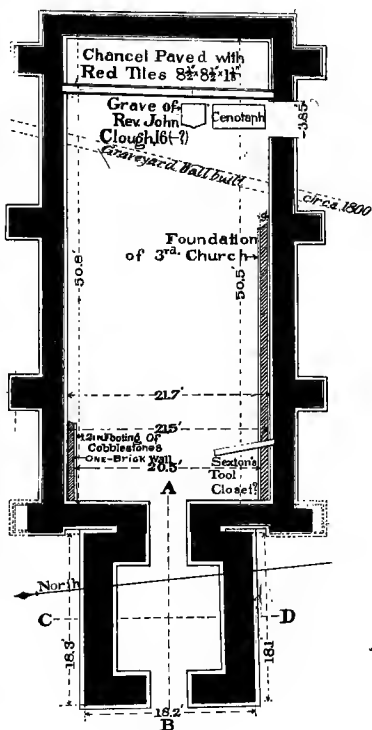


Fig. 1

RUINS OF CHURCH STRUCTURES

ERECTED AT
JAMES CITY, VA.
ABOUT 1617 AND 1639.

SCALE.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Ft.



ture with the woodwork renewed. This would, in a measure, account for the church walls not having stood longer than they did, on account of being injured by the fire. Circumstances indicate that it was used until about the end of the eighteenth century, when its walls fell, and the bricks composing them were used by Mr. William Lee, of Green Spring, and Mr. John Ambler, of Jamestown, to inclose a part of the old burial ground.

In his *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, Bishop Meade states, with reference to the foundations of the last brick church, which he measured during a visit to Jamestown Island shortly before 1856, that the ground plan of the church had the form of an oblong square, whose accurately measured dimensions were twenty-eight by fifty-six feet.*

In the summer of 1901, the above foundations which adjoin the eastern wall of the tower ruins, were uncovered by Mr. John Tyler, Jr., under the auspices of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, to which society the surrounding tract of twenty-three acres belongs.† The average length and width within the walls are fifty and six-tenths feet and twenty-two and seven-tenths feet, respectively.

In clearing away from around the foundations the mould of more than a century, parts of the foundations of the side walls of a narrower building, whose inside width was about twenty feet, were uncovered. They consist of a footing of cobble-stones one foot thick, capped by a one-brick wall. The slenderness of the foundations indicates that their superstructure was of timber, as in the days of substantial building to which they belonged, they would have been regarded as too light for one of brick. It will be observed that the width of a building matching the foundations would be the same as given for the church built during Argall's term as deputy-governor. As only the western ends of the foundations of the two side walls remain, the length of the building they supported cannot be learned.

In making the before-mentioned excavations three distinct

* Meade's *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 111.

† Donated to the above association by Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Barney, in 1896.

sets of floor tiles were found lying at slightly different levels across the east end of the building, formerly belonging to a chancel five and one-half feet by twenty-two feet, indicating that there were three church structures on the same site. The lowest layer of tiles probably belonged to the third church and, in that case, if its end walls were inclosed in the same manner as its side walls, which seems quite likely, the length of the third church would have been about fifty feet.

As the same site was used for the three church buildings erected after 1617, the churchyard, which was by custom the principal burial ground, most probably was never changed, and was probably used even before that year. The finding of a human skeleton, while excavating the foundations, crossed by a wall of the church near its southeastern corner, shows that there was a burial ground at its site before the first brick church was built (1639-1647), and possibly even before the building of the timber church in 1618, which covered almost all of the ground occupied by its successor.

From what has preceded there should be no room for doubt as to the lighter foundations being those of the third church structure, that built under Argall, and in use when Yeardley came to the colony in 1619. The inclosure of one structure by the other suggests that, while the later church of brick was being constructed around the earlier one of timber, the latter was used for service.

As the marriage of John Rolfe to Pocahontas occurred in 1614, it would appear that the ceremony could not have been performed in the third church, whose site, as shown above, was subsequently occupied by the brick churches, but in the second structure, 60 by 24 feet in plan, which was reconstructed by La Warre, and situated within the triangular fort a short distance, probably one hundred and thirty yards, above the church tower. The third church, however, was undoubtedly the one used for the convening of the first American legislature by Governor Yeardley, on July 30, 1619.*

Although the first and second churches were within the tri-

* *Colonial Records of Virginia*, Extra Senate (State) Document of 1874.



IN THE CHURCHYARD.

The sycamore tree in the middle ground grew between the tombs of Commissary James Blair and his wife and shattered the stones.

angular fort, it is not probable that the graveyard was. To have lived continually in such close proximity to their probable, ultimate resting place would have been as distasteful to the settlers as to most people of this day. Moreover, the available area of the acre inclosure, as already demonstrated, would have been fully occupied by the buildings and streets mentioned by Strachey. Interments would have been made near, but outside of the triangular fort. By the time the third church was erected, about 1618, the burial ground, in consequence of the frightful mortality, must have grown to considerable proportions, and no site could have seemed more appropriate for it than the ground contiguous to that which had been consecrated as "God's Acre."

On the occasion of the celebration at Jamestown of the bi-centenary of the advent of the English,* "as it were by general consent the discovery of the oldest stone became an object of general emulation." * * * "beyond 1682, nothing legible could be traced, but from the freshness of the marble bearing this date contrasted with the surrounding masses of mutilated and mouldering decay, it was the general impression that this stone was comparatively young." As, ordinarily, gravestones do not become illegible in less than one hundred and fifty to two hundred years, the assumption is not unreasonable that some of those seen at Jamestown in 1807 belonged to the same period as the third church, although the earliest known date on any tombstone in Virginia is 1637.† There is very good evidence that until about the 18th century many of the tombstones used in Virginia were shipped from across seas.

It is stated by some who were present at Sunday services held for the island garrison in the old churchyard in 1861 that there was then a sufficient number of tombstones to serve as seats for the command of two hundred men. Only a few complete stones remain, and the fragments of others show what has been the common fate of nearly all.

* *Report on the Proceedings of the Late Jubilee at Jamestown, Va.*, page 9.

† Colonel Wm. Perry's at Westover. Colonel Perry was member of House of Burgesses and subsequently member of the Council.

Reference is now made to two grants to Thomas Hampton, Clerke, in 1639 and 1644.* Both tracts are described as being on a ridge of land behind the church, the earlier and smaller between two swamps and the later "containing from the Easternmost bounds Westerly one hundred and twelve paces five foot to the pace and running the same Breadth Northerly to the back river." The later grant may have been made to include the earlier, a practice which, as previously noted, was common to the period. In any event, both grants were most probably upon the same ridge.

Several patents are employed to locate Hampton's two tracts, as follows: to John Bauldwin in 1656 for 15 acres 69 poles, 5 acres 69 poles of which were "at the old block house" and ten acres bounded "Easterly upon Mr. James' land Northerly upon the back river" [marsh?], and the smaller tract, "West upon the Main river and South upon the slash which lyeth between the State house and the said Mr. James." James' western boundary was a meridian passing "by Friggett landing."† The approximate position of "Friggett Landing" is learned from the probable position of a grant to Richard Clarke in 1646.‡ As shown on the map the Bauldwin tract agrees with its description.

In 1644 Richard Sanders patented an acre "bounded west upon the river East upon ye marsh North upon the block house land and South upon the Land of Edward Challos." In the same year Edward Challis received a grant of an acre bounded "West upon the river East upon the marsh North upon the blockhouse Land and South towards the land of Radulph Spraggon." The word "upon" in the phrase "upon the blockhouse land" in the Challos patent should be *towards*, for Challos is given as the southern boundary of Sanders in the latter's patent. Spraggon's land, an acre, patented in 1644, was bounded "South upon the land of Geo. Gilbert North towards the Way leading towards the Mayne West upon the river and East towards the land of Mr. Hampton." Bauldwin's patent shows

* Virginia Land Patent Records, Book I, p. 689, and Book II, p. 105.

† Virginia Land Patent Records, Book IV, p. 196.

‡ *Ibid*, Book II, p. 47.

approximately the former site of Block House Hill, below which was the land of Sanders, adjoining whom on the south was Challos. Next below came a space, probably unoccupied except by part of the highway, below which, but not adjoining, was Spraggon, all about as shown on the "Map of James City."

Arguments have been presented for the sites of the churches used after 1617 and of the graveyard pertaining to them before that year, as being adjacent to the tower ruin at the eastern side of the four-acre paled town.

The description of an acre granted to John White in 1644 reads, "bounded West upon the Church Yard East upon the land appertaining to the State House North towards the land of Mr. Thomas Hampton and South upon James River the Length being twenty three poles and breadth Seaven poles almost."

The word "towards"³ in the White patent and also in the Spraggon patent with reference to Hampton's land, shows that the last named was situated north of the first and east of the second, but in each case at some indefinite, but not remote distance, the intervening land not being patented. By projecting series of lines east from Spraggon and north from White they will intersect on the second ridge about where the Hampton land is indicated on the map.

On account of the peculiar wording of the parts of the Hampton patents, describing the relative positions of the tracts on a ridge, and the church, viz.; "behind the church," it is not clear at first glance whether the church and the tracts were on the same, or different ridges. If on the same, the second, the church would have been mentioned in Spraggon's patent, whose land was west of Hampton's. No allusion to the church, however, occurs in that or any other patent on or near the western shore of the island. The particle "behind" is not understood as meaning in the rear of the church's back wall, but signifying on the opposite side from where the writer stood or imagined he was standing, or possibly as having reference to some other object understood but not mentioned, *e. g.*, the churchyard or river bank. The above is a sample of the vague and inaccurate

expressions appearing in some of the patents and too often used at the present day.

As, according to its description, the White tract was on the southern bank of the island and the churchyard adjoined it on the west, the latter was also on the river bank. Finally, until 1644 the first ridge belonged to the block house, and the land at the western end of the second ridge has been accounted for in that year; the third ridge was occupied by buildings from an early day (1666), and, therefore, most probably never contained the church or graveyard; all of which also goes to show that the church and graveyard were not on the western bank of the island. All of the available evidence pertaining to the church, therefore, proves that it and the graveyard were on the fourth ridge and on the southern water front at the old tower ruin.

Bishop Meade states in effect that the graves near the tower ruin inclosed by a brick wall, before referred to, near the close of the eighteenth century, cover but a third of the original graveyard, which had an area of a half acre. Although the graves are in very close order, each one apparently occupying, on an average, about thirty-two square feet, it is evident that a half-acre would have sufficed but for a small fraction of those who died at "James Citty."*

In 1896, as before described, the remnant of the original head-land, which still shielded the adjacent river bank below it from abrasion, was removed to bring the shore to a fair line for receiving protection work, constructed in that year. It is credibly stated that when the bank thus exposed was undermined by the waves, several human skeletons lying in regular order, east and west, about two hundred feet west of the tower ruin were uncovered. On account of their nearness to the tower it seems quite probable that the skeletons were in the original churchyard. One of the skulls had been perforated by a musket ball and several buckshot, which it still held, suggesting a military execution. Soon after being exposed to the air the skeletons crumbled.

From the evidence of the White patent and the positions of

* Meade's *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 111.



THE TOWER RUIN.

Viewed from eastern parapet of Confederate fort of 1861.

the skeletons, it would appear that the churchyard extended from the junction of the Back Street with the "old Greate Road," northeast of the church, to near the water side and up the latter, including a part of the ground subsequently covered by the Confederate fort. Thus situated, it would have had an area of about one and one-half acres.

Judging from the brick bond of the church tower it belonged originally to the fourth of the five churches, all of which, except the latest one, are more or less briefly referred to in the available annals of the colonists.

The first brick church and its successor would to-day be regarded as very plain and unpretentious chapels. They were rectangular in plan, having the customary high pitched roofs on the church and probably also on the tower, and the aisle paved with brick and the chancel with tiles. The tower, situated at the western end, on account of being disproportionately large in comparison with the rest of the structure, was the prominent feature. On account of its solidity, it was not materially injured by the conflagration of 1676. Arched doorways through the front and back walls of the first story formed the main entrance. The second story openings were most probably a window in the west wall and a door in the east wall, the latter opening into a gallery across the western end of the nave, as in the "old Brick Church" at Smithfield, Va. The third story was probably lighted only by six loop holes, two in the front and two in each side wall. The loop holes indicate that the intention of the builders of the tower was to make it defensible against Indian attack. As, with the defeat and death of Opechancanough in 1644, the fear of such attacks occurring at Jamestown should have almost entirely disappeared, it seems likely that the tower was designed and probably built before or about that time. The brick work formerly separating the openings of the first and second stories having broken away, the front and back walls now have high portals extending to about twenty and nineteen feet, respectively, above the ground.

The brick work of the tower, in so-called English bond, is quaintly embellished, after the fashion of the period, with glazed headers. The walls of the ruin were recently strengthened by tie rods, with ornamental washers of cruciform shape. It is a

dignified old pile, of sombre detail, and originally had a height of about forty-six feet, to the peak of the spire that surmounted it. It is approximately eighteen feet square in plan, with walls three feet thick at the base, diminishing by offsets in the inner faces at each story to about seventeen inches at the belfry.

Within nave and chancel are interred many unknown dead, and, lying with its head to the north, is an ironstone tablet, probably formerly a cenotaph, from which are missing inlaid brasses with which it was embossed. In its present position it does not appear to mark a tomb, for it would thus show a violation of the time-revered custom, formerly universally observed in Christian burials, to place the feet towards the rising sun. Whose "death in life" it commemorated will probably ever remain one of the mysteries of this mysterious island.

The "James Citty" brick church resembled the "old Brick Church" about five miles from Smithfield, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, modernly known as St. Luke's. The latter, however, is a larger building than was the former. The points in common between the two churches are a tower at the western end, facing almost the same point of the compass, and a chancel door on the south side, near the eastern end of the nave. The brick work of St. Luke's church, however, is laid in so-called Flemish bond, and its tower has articulated pilasters at the western corners, broad friezes at each story and under the eaves and its exterior faces broken by offsets at each story.

THE COLONIAL LEGISLATURE.

WHEN Capt. Smith became president of the colony, in 1608, he styled the meeting of the colonists which he called to announce that thereafter those who would not work must starve a "generall assembly."*

A peculiar feature of the first colonial legislature, and apparently of those of many ensuing years, was that both of its branches, the governor's Council and the House of Burgesses, met in joint session, after the fashion of the Scotch Parliament.

According to Beverly, this custom obtained until 1680, when Governor Culpeper, "taking advantage of some disputes among

* *Works, Captain John Smith*, p. 149.



THE MYSTERIOUS TABLET.

The tablet is 5 feet-7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. The black surfaces show the channelings in the stone formerly filled with metal. The inscription plate was about 19 by 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the height of the draped figure 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

them," caused the two bodies to hold their sessions in separate apartments,* the Council being presided over by the governor and the House of Burgesses by a speaker of its own election.

It was resolved at a session of the House of Burgesses in March, 1658, that "they"—"all propositions and lawes"—"shall be first discussed among the Burgesses only" * * * "in private" * * * "and not in presence of the Governour and Council."† The above action of the Burgesses, evincing a desire to assert the independence of their body, was a precursor of the discontinuance of joint sessions, above noted by Beverly.

From what follows, the custom of holding joint sessions apparently had been discontinued before 1680, although it had been customary for two of the members of the Council to attend the sessions of the Burgesses, as shown in "T. M.'s"‡ account of Bacon's Rebellion.

The ostensible purpose of the presence of the councillors was to assist the burgesses in conducting their proceedings in a parliamentary manner. The real object, obviously, was to keep the governor fully apprised of all that occurred in this democratic and often intractable body. This was fully understood by the burgesses, some of whom, on the occasion referred to by "T. M.," manifested their unwillingness to have the councillors present.

Prior to its session in September, 1632, the colonial legislature of Virginia was styled "The General Assembly." Beginning with the above session, it was called "The Grand Assembly,"

* *History of the Present State of Virginia*, by Robert Beverly, p. 187.

† *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. I, p. 497.

‡ *The Beginning, Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in the Years 1675-1676*, p. 13.—*Force's Historical Tracts*, Vol. I.—"T. M." is supposed by Campbell and Fiske to have been Thomas Mathews, son of Samuel Mathews, governor of Virginia, 1657-1659. (Campbell's *History of Virginia*, p. 284, and Fiske's *Old Virginia and her Neighbours*, Vol. II, p. 66.) The available evidence is quite conclusive that "T. M." was Thomas Mathew, and not Thomas Mathews, a son of the governor. See Notes and Queries, by W. G. Standard, *Virginia Historical Magazine*, Vol. I. (1893-1894), pp. 201 and 202. He was a timid, cautious man, who unwillingly became the representative of Stafford county in the first Assembly after the "Long Assembly."

which title it bore until the session of June, 1680, when the former appellation was revived.

"JAMES CITY" STATE HOUSES.

THE first General Assembly, as previously stated, was convened in the third church, referred to in the last chapter as having its foundations inclosed by those of its successor, the first brick church, erected between 1639 and 1647.

The available information concerning the various buildings used for subsequent meetings of the legislature and for holding courts is too incomplete, meagre and obscure to be reduced to a succinct and entirely satisfactory statement. Following are deductions from the available data pertinent to the subject, which are given in subsequent pages:

During about the first two decades after 1619 there were at least twelve sessions of the legislature. They were probably held either in the third church or at the governor's house. There were also held during the above period sessions of the court and meetings of the governor and Council. From the latter the proclamations of the governor that were intended to take the place of legislative enactments, were probably promulgated.*

During the next six decades, while "James City" remained the seat of government, there were apparently four different state house buildings, all of which were burned. The time they were occupied collectively amounted to about forty-three years. During the intervals between the burning of the several state-houses and the acquiring of new ones, amounting in the aggregate approximately to seventeen years, taverns were used for the meetings of the Assembly and the sessions of the courts.

As in April, 1641, the colonial government purchased from ex-Governor Harvey, who about a year before was adjudged a bankrupt, one of his houses, known as the courthouse, the courts and meetings of the governor and Council were no doubt held there, and probably also the meetings of the whole legislature. The above building, therefore, most probably constituted the first state house.

* *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. I, p. 120.

In June, 1642, the Grand Assembly presented Governor Berkeley with two houses and a tract of land adjacent to them, at "James Citty." Between the above year and 1655, Governor Berkeley erected a house adjoining on the west the first state house, which thus became the middlemost of three houses, all having the same dimensions in plan, viz., forty by twenty feet, and forming a block with a frontage on the river of sixty feet and a depth of forty feet. The block was sixty-seven feet from the southern bank of the island and about forty-five yards below the present wharf. The bank probably having receded slightly, its site would now be somewhat nearer the present bank line.

The middle house of the block was used as a state house for about thirteen years longer, or until some time between March, 1655, and June, 1656, when it would seem to have been burned. After the burning of the above building two courts were held in a tavern kept by Thomas Woodhouse.

The available information about the second state house is scant and indirect. The building appears to have been acquired some time before October, 1656. All that is known of it is learned from a reference to it in a patent of the above year from which it appears to have been situated on the fourth ridge. It apparently was used for but three or four years, and then burned.

During the ensuing five years, or until about 1665, the colony's affairs seem to have been transacted in part, if not entirely, in taverns belonging to Thomas Woodhouse and Thomas Hunt, situated on the river bank about one hundred and three hundred yards, respectively, east of the first state house. About the above year a house was purchased or built by the colonial government on the third ridge about two hundred and forty yards northeast of the brick church, and this served as the state house until burned by Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., in September, 1676.

During the ten years following, or until about 1686, the expedient of using taverns for meetings of the legislature was again resorted to. In the above year the re-building of the statehouse was completed. As it was on the site of its predecessor, it most probably had the same proportions, which in plan were about seventy-four feet long and twenty feet wide, within the walls. This was the last state house building erected at "James Citty."

It was occupied for about twelve years, and was burned in the fall of 1698. The Assembly held its last session at "James City," in April, 1699, when it was decreed to move the capital to Williamsburg.

Subjoined are the data on which the foregoing is based.

The earliest available evidence of the colony's intention to build a state house appears in a letter from its governor, Sir John Harvey, Knight, and his council to the Privy Council, dated January 18, 1639, in which it is stated that by the King's command a levy had been raised for the above purpose.* One year later, during the session of the Grand Assembly beginning January 6, 1639-40,† an act was passed providing for defraying the cost of building a state house by a poll assessment of two pounds of tobacco.

On April 7, 1641, about fifteen months after the passage of the above act, Sir John Harvey conveyed to the colonial government, for 15,700 pounds of tobacco, to be paid the following January,‡ "all that capital messuage or tenement now used for a court house late in the tenure of Sir John Harvey, Knt., situate and being within James City Island in Virginia with the old house and granary, garden and orchard as also one piece or plot of ground lying and being on the west side of the said capital and messuage as the same is now inclosed."§ The above conveyance shows that the court had been holding its sessions in a house owned by Sir John Harvey, and it seems quite likely that the assessment of January, 1639-40, was expended in buying Harvey's houses and lot, one of the former being the court house. It is more than possible that the Grand Assembly had

* McDonald Papers, Vol. I, p. 249.

† *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. I, p. 226.—The acts of several of the Assemblies between 1619 and 1642 are not known to be in existence. They are only known to have been framed by allusions to them in acts passed at other sessions, contained in *Hening's Statutes*, and from being mentioned in the land patents, in official correspondence, and in the minutes of the London Company.

‡ The poll assessment of January, 1640, would have become due January, 1641.

§ Transcripts of Miscellaneous MSS., by Conway Robinson, p. 188.

also been meeting in the same house. It seems most probable that the above building was the one mentioned in patents referred to below as "the old state house," whose location is given further on.

In a letter of instructions from the King to Governor Berkeley and the colonial Council in August, 1641, the building of a state house is ordered.

By an act of Assembly passed in June, 1642, two houses and an orchard "belonging to the colony" were presented to Governor Berkeley. This act was confirmed by another passed at the session of March, 1642.*

In February, 1643, a patent was issued to Captain Robert Hutchinson, Burgess from "James Citty," for one and one-half acres situated on the south shore of the island and bounded west in part "towards" the state house.† It appears from the Hutchinson patent that by 1643 the previous acts of Assembly for procuring a state house had gone into effect, and that the building was on the south shore of the island.

In August, 1644, a patent previously quoted from was issued to John White for one acre of land lying along the south shore of the island, between the churchyard on the west and the state house land on the east.‡ This locates the state house with reference to the churchyard in 1644, whose position has already been determined, and places the western boundary of the state house grounds about twelve yards below the present wharf, or about seventy yards below the eastern boundary of the land now owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

* *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. I, p. 267.

† Va. Land Pat. Records, Book I, p. 944.

Hutchinson's patent reads "bounded South upon the river North towards Pasby Hayes, West upon the land of John Osborne & towards the State House." As the tract could not have been situated on the southern bank of the island and at the same time been in a southerly direction from Paspahugh town, which was on the main land above the island, either some other locality named Pasby Hayes was referred to or an error made in describing the tract or transcribing the patent.

‡ Va. Land Pat. Records, Book II, p. 10.

On March 30, 1655, Sir William Berkeley sold to Richard Bennett, who had succeeded him as governor in 1652, his house, "the westernmost of the three brick houses," which the deed recites the grantor had built.* The deed, however, does not show that the ground on which the house stood and that adjacent to it was sold with the house. The above mentioned land was granted to Thomas Ludwell and Thomas Stegg, January 1, 1667. Its area was a half acre. It was situated on the southern shore of the island "adjoyning to the westernmost of those three houses all of which joynly were formerly called by the name of the old state house," sixty-seven feet from high-water mark.† From what follows the patent apparently did not include the house, or, more correctly, its ruins.

Henry Randolph, clerk of the court, sold the ruins of the three houses and the grounds they respectively covered, April 7, 1671,‡ as follows: The eastern house ruins and ground to Thomas Swann, of the county of Surry; the middle, or "old state house" proper, to Nathaniel Bacon [Sr.], executor of the estate of Colonel Myles Cary,§ and the western to Thomas Ludwell. By his will, proved May 15, 1671, Thomas Stegge left to Thomas Ludwell his interest in a house bought jointly with Ludwell of Henry Randolph.|| Ludwell subsequently secured a patent for a half acre of land adjoining the house ruins and sold the property to Sir William Berkeley for one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, March 17, 1672.¶

It seems most probable that the building erected by Governor Berkeley between 1642 and 1655 and sold by him to Richard Bennett in the latter year, the one referred to in the patent to Ludwell and Stegg of 1667, that sold by Randolph to Thomas

* *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. I, p. 407.

† *Virginia Land Patent Records*, Book VI, p. 223.

‡ *Conway Robinson's Transcripts of Miscellaneous Manuscripts*, p. 258, from *General Court Rule Book No. 2*, pp. 155, 617.

§ Colonel Cary came to Virginia in 1645, constructed the first fort on site of Fort Monroe, and was killed there in an engagement with the Dutch, in 1667.

|| *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, p. 102.

¶ *Robinson's Transcripts*, p. 258.

Ludwell in 1671, and by Ludwell to Berkeley in 1672, were one and the same.

The foregoing proves conclusively that the first state house was near the southern bank of the island and eastward of the old tower ruin.

It also seems probable that the orchard land and two houses donated to Governor Berkeley in March, 1642-43, were the same bought by the Grand Assembly from Sir John Harvey in April, 1641, and paid for in January following, and that the building previously referred to as being built by Berkeley was an addition made by him on the western side of the Harvey buildings. The westernmost of the two buildings previously owned by Harvey, therefore, became the middlemost of the block. It had been used as a courthouse in his time, as stated above, and constituted the state house during Berkeley's first term.

In the description of a tract of land patented to John Bauldwin in October, 1656, as previously noted, the land of Richard James is given as its eastern boundary, and "the slash which lyeth between the State House [land] and the said Mr. James" as its southern.* Richard James' land, of which patent was recorded June 5, 1657, included one hundred and fifty acres of the second ridge east of a "northerly" line passing "by" the "Friggett Landing," to the marsh below "Pyping Point,"† including forty acres granted in 1654.‡ The slash, forming Bauldwin's southern boundary, was the upper branch of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp," which is the northern boundary of the third and fourth ridges. The state house referred to in the patent, or probably more precisely the state house land, would seem to have been on the fourth ridge, as the part of the third ridge east of James' western line prolonged is very low ground.

During the session of the Assembly in October, 1666, an act was passed confirming the ownership of land held under unrecorded patents, on the grounds that their being unrecorded resulted from the neglect of the clerks and the destruction of the

* Va. Land Pat. Records, Book IV, p. 88.

† *Ibid*, Book IV, p. 196.

‡ *Ibid*, Book III, p. 368.

records by "two severall fires."* The above indicates that the repositories of the records—two state houses—had been burned. The "two severall fires," therefore, were doubtless those of the "old state house"—the first state house, on the southern island bank—and its successor, referred to in the Baldwin patent, on the fourth ridge.

As Governor Berkeley sold his house in the "old state house" block to Governor Bennett, March 30, 1655, and as the Assembly passed an act during the session beginning December 1, 1656, providing for the payment of 2,500 pounds of tobacco to Thomas Woodhouse for house rent for the accommodation of the committee and for two sittings of the quarter courts,† held, probably in June and September, 1656, preceding, it would appear that the first state house was burned between March, 1655, and June, 1656.

The second state house was probably improvised out of a private dwelling, for in those days of great inertia the four to seven months interval between the burning of the first state house and the issuing of the Baldwin patent which contains the allusion to the second state house seems hardly long enough for erecting a building.

The second state house was probably burned shortly before 1660, for during the session of the Assembly in October of that year, house rent incurred for Assembly meetings amounting to 3,500 pounds of tobacco, and for meetings of the governor and Council amounting to 4,000 pounds of the same medium of exchange were appropriated and ordered paid to Thomas Hunt and Thomas Woodhouse, respectively.‡

During the above session Governor Berkeley was requested by the Assembly to take charge of the building of a state house and authorized to pay liabilities incurred therefor out of the public funds and those to be thereafter raised by act of Assembly. He was also authorized to impress ten men to work on the building.§

In 1654 a grant of an acre lot on the southern water front of

* *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. II, p. 245.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 425.

‡ *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. II, p. 12.

§ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 13.

the town was made to Thomas Woodhouse.* Judging from the agreement of direction of the lot's southern boundary, as given in the patent, with the part of the river bank one hundred yards east of the first state house, or just west of the turf fort, the lot was near that locality. A grant of one acre on the same shore about two hundred yards further east, was also made to Thomas Hunt in 1655.† It is possible that the above tracts were those on which were situated the taverns, in which rooms were rented for meetings of the Assembly and for holding court. Their descriptions in the patents, however, are insufficient to definitely locate them. Thomas Woodhouse in 1694 owned a tract on the crest of the fourth ridge, just west of the Ambler mansion, on which, possibly, his tavern was situated.

During a session of the Assembly in March, 1660-1661, the expense of renting halls for holding its meetings and those of the court was urged as a cogent reason for acquiring a state house, and, with a view to making the necessary taxation for the purpose as light as possible, it was resolved to solicit subscriptions.‡ The governor, councillors, and burgesses headed the list of subscribers, donating considerable sums of money and tobacco, to be paid out of the next crop. After a lapse of over two years the matter was again brought up in the Assembly, on September 16, 1663.§ The question as then submitted was, "Since the charge the country is yearly at for houses for the quarter courts and assemblies to sit in would in two or 3 years defray the purchase of a state house. Whether it were not more profitable to purchase for that purpose then continue for ever at the expence, accompanied with the dishonour of all our laws being made and our judgments given in alehouses."

On the day following a committee of six burgesses was appointed to confer with the governor about a state house.||

* Va. Land Pat. Records, Book III, p. 380.

† *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. II, p. 38.

‡ *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 204.

|| *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 205.

Under date of April 10, 1665, Thomas Ludwell, colonial secretary of state, wrote Lord Arlington that the rebuilding of the town in brick was sufficiently advanced to furnish the necessary buildings in which to transact the business of the colony. The buildings referred to by Ludwell were probably some of those erected in furtherance of the act of Assembly of December, 1662, for rebuilding the town with brick houses,* and it is probable that the meaning of the letter was that the state house building was completed.

There does not appear to be extant any description of the third state house or any data of record definitely fixing its location. The following extract from a message addressed to the House by the governor during the session of the Assembly of 1685† shows that the third and fourth state house buildings occupied the same site and probably were of the same shape and proportions: "This day an addresse and some orders of yr. House have been presented to me & ye Council by some of yr. members, and doe much wonder, you should propose soe unreasonably, as to desire our concurrence, in ye memorial [removal?] of ye secretaries office, wch. ever since ye state House was first built, until burnt, has been continued in ye place you allot for an office for ye Clerk, soe that Mr. Secretary justly claims it by prescription, and you yrselves have soe consented and alsoe desired, that it be enlarged as by ye agreement made ye last Gen'l Assembly with Col. Ludwell." The spot, therefore, is established where, in June, 1676, Bacon, at the head of his little army, demanded a commission to proceed against and chastise the Indians, and where the testy old governor, while baring his breast, reiterated the words, "here! shoot me, 'fore God, fair mark, shoot."

After the burning of the third state house in September, 1676, it was proposed to rebuild at Tindall's Point,‡ now known as Gloucester Point, on York river. "James Towne," however, was not yet to be abandoned, and in about eight years the rebuilding of the state house on the old site was begun.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 172, 173.

† McDonald Papers. Vol. VII, pp. 379, 380.

‡ *Henning's Statutes*, Vol. II, p. 405.

In the interim between the burning of the third state house and its rebuilding, the expedient of using taverns for holding the sessions of the Grand Assembly, as had been twice done when the colony had lost its capitol by fire, was again resorted to, allowances of tobacco being made to Mr. Henry Gauler for several meetings of the court and Assembly held at his tavern.* In the 1685 session of the General Assembly an agreement was entered into with Mr. William Sherwood for the use of "his great Hall, and ye back room on ye same floor and ye cellar under ye said room," for courthouse purposes, during the ensuing year, including "fire, candle and attendance," at twenty-five pounds sterling per annum.† Sherwood's house was undoubtedly on the site of the acre lot bought by him in 1681, on which stood the country house.

The approximate site of the fourth state house is learned from the following quotation from a patent to William Sherwood, recorded April 20, 1694:‡ "grant unto William Sherwood of James City Gent, 308 acres of land Scituate lying and being in James City and James City Island, beginning on James River at the head of Pitch and tarr swamp next above the state house and running along the North side thereof" [branch of swamp]. A study of the above patent leaves no room for doubting that the branch of swamp referred to was the upper branch, from which it follows that the building stood on the third ridge.

The site of the fourth state house was unknown until early in 1903, when, as before stated, it was located by the author. A few references to its predecessor occur in "T. M.'s" account of Bacon's Rebellion. This narrative, written thirty years after the above revolution, shows that the state house of 1666-1676 was a two-story building. At the eastern end of the first story was an apartment used as the council chamber and for court house purposes. In the second story was the Assembly room of the House of Burgesses, "a long room." From the manner in which the "end of the state house" is referred to by "T. M.," it might appear that the building had but one free end. This

* McDonald Papers, Vol. VII, pp. 372, 376.

† *Ibid*, pp. 385, 388.

‡ Va. Land Pat. Records, Book VIII, p. 384.

accords with the plan of the fourth state house, the western end of which, as discovered by excavating its foundations, adjoined the easternmost of Philip Ludwell's three houses referred to below.* The Ludwell tract had an area of one and one-half acres, in the shape of an oblong rectangle, with its northern boundary "near the Pitch and Tarr Swamp." The patent shows that the northern and southern fronts of three houses, of which the tract contained the ruins, had collectively the same length, viz., three and three-fourths chains,† or one hundred and twenty-three and three-fourths feet, and about the same azimuth as the north and south boundary lines of the tract.

In February, 1903, the earth overlying the walls found during the preceding month by probing on the crest of the third ridge where it seemed probable the ruins of the three houses mentioned in the Ludwell patent of 1694 had stood, was removed by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities to depths of one to five feet, when the brick foundations of a former row of buildings about two hundred and forty feet long by about twenty-four to forty-six feet wide, were disclosed. The foundations are on the highest part of the ridge where its elevation is about two and one-half to three and one-half feet above great tides. The ground falls gently from the foundations towards the east, and the shapes of the contours indicate that the part of the ridge abraded by the waves sloped towards the western shore.

The foundations are divided by heavy cross-walls into five principal divisions. The main walls are about two feet thick, the cross-walls from fourteen inches to two feet.

As above explained, the westernmost foundations belonged to the "Country House," those of the next three buildings to the ruins of Philip Ludwell's houses and the easternmost to the state house. All of the buildings except the state house were about forty feet square within the walls. A small proportion of the underpinning of the northernmost wall of the middle and eastern Ludwell houses is granite rubble. With the above ex-

* *Force's Historical Tracts*, Vol. I, p. 16.—*Bacon's Rebellion*.

† The chain used in the "James City" surveys was two poles, or thirty-three feet long.

Discovered and Identified in 1903,

Sam'l H. George.

0 4 8 12 16 20 24 ft.



ception the walls rest on a bed of mortar about two inches thick. On account of the base of the foundations being of different material, as above noted, and of the cross walls north of the middle main wall being out of line with those south of it, it is surmised that the northern halves of the two houses alluded to were constructed at a different period from the southern halves, possibly a later one. The inside dimensions of the earlier houses would, therefore, have been twenty by forty feet, thus according with the specifications contained in the statute of December, 1662, for rebuilding the town.

The remains of several immense fire places are found in all of the buildings excepting the state house. The fire places are generally about eight feet long between the jambs. One, in the southern half of the "Country House," is eight and a half feet long. The jambs project about three feet from the walls.

The buildings appear to have been divided into apartments about twenty feet square by the fire places and heavy partition walls.

The foundations of two of the partitions are T-shaped. It is conjectured that the spaces between the heads of the T's and the southern porches were approximately square halls, with a room at either end. The spaces between the T-heads and the middle main wall of either side of the stem of the T were probably utilized as lockers or closets. The obliquity of the T partition and also of the porch of the middle Ludwell house with reference to the main walls cannot be satisfactorily explained. It may have been the result of careless work of the builder, or it may indicate that the main walls belonged to buildings erected at different periods from the other parts referred to. The floors of several of the rooms were paved with brick, parts of the paving still remaining.

Brick foundations of several porches projecting from the southern main wall indicate that the buildings faced the south. One of the porches adjoins the middle of the state house, two others the easternmost and middle Ludwell houses. They were about ten feet square inside. Their foundation walls are eighteen to twenty-two inches thick. At the eastern end of the middle Ludwell house are what appear to have been the foundations of another and smaller porch eight and one-half feet square inside

the walls. It may have belonged to a house erected prior to 1665.

Under the northern half of the westernmost Ludwell house was found a cellar, twenty by forty feet by about six feet deep, filled with the brick of fallen walls. The cellar is paved with brick. In the floor is a pit three and one half feet square by three feet deep, with brick-lined sides. Leading from the pit to what was apparently formerly a hole about a foot in diameter is a shallow drain. It is possible that the pit was for draining the cellar, but it is far more probable that it was a well. On the floor of the cellar were several sheets of melted lead, and among the brick *debris* were a "sacar" shot, also two bombshells—one of the calibre of a demi-culverin, the other of a sacar—and fragments of exploded shells. The above warlike relics may have been fired in 1676 from Bacon's trench near the north end of the isthmus. The cellar is entered by a flight of steps on its northern side. A pipe, scissors, steel sewing-thimble, copper candlestick, ladies' riding-stirrup, and an old bottle, all of quaint and antique shapes, were found in the cellar.

The bond of the brick work of the cellar walls is the same as that of the foundations and tower ruin of the brick church of 1639-47—viz., the so-called English bond. This bond is found in Flanders, Holland, and Rhenish Germany, from which countries it appears to have been introduced into Great Britain.* Its employment at "James Towne" is probably to be accounted for by several of the residents of the town during its fourth decade being German or Dutch brickmakers and bricklayers.

The "Country House" is separated from the Ludwell buildings by an eighteen-inch party wall. Under its northern half was an unpaved cellar entered by a flight of steps on the north side similar to those of the Ludwell cellar.

The foundations of the state house show that it was about seventy-four feet by twenty feet within the walls. It was divided by a fourteen-inch cross wall into two parts, one about forty-two, the other about thirty-one feet long. Projecting from the middle of the north wall are foundations of a wing about fifteen feet square within the walls, referred to below. On each side of

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. IV, page 461.



SECTION OF FOUNDATIONS DISCOVERED IN 1903.

*In the foreground is shown cellar of Ludwell's easternmost house, and between it and the river that of the "Country House."
"The lone cypress" appears in the background.*

the wing is a projection which may have belonged to bay windows or fireplaces. If not to the latter, the state house probably was not heated, as there are no other indications of fireplaces in the building.

The general plan of the state house, with its north wing and south porch, is symmetrical.

From the original transcript of the Journal of the General Assembly, held at Jamestown in May, 1684 * it is learned that during that session a committee consisting of "Coll^o Kendall—Capt: Fra: Page—Capt: Robinson—Coll^o George Mason—Mr. Hen: Hartwell—Major Allen and Mr. Sherwood," was appointed to consider the rebuilding of the state house and to ascertain its cost. The committee was also instructed to submit with its report the proposals of any persons willing to perform the work. The committee acted promptly and its report † was as promptly approved by the House. The report was then submitted to the governor, who appointed Mr. Sherwood to draw up a contract "between his Exlncy & the Speaker in behalfe of the Generall Assembly and the Hon^{ble} Coll^o Phillip Ludwell for the Rebuilding the state house."

The only available data pertaining to the arrangement of the interior of the building are the allusions to it in "T. M.'s" account of Bacon's Rebellion, and the Journal of the General Assembly held at "James Citty" in November and December, 1685, ‡ quoted from above.

During the above session the rebuilding of the state house was probably nearly completed, and it was ordered by the House "That Mr. Auditor Bacon pay to Col. Philip Ludwell fower hundred pounds sterling out of ye Moneys accruing from ye duty of three pence pr. gallon upon liquors, for and in consideration of rebuilding ye State House, upon payment of wch

* Colonial Record Book, Vol. 85, pp. 168-207, P. R. O., London, England.

† Miss Ethel B. Sainsbury, of London, England, who examined and made transcripts of portions of the above documents for the author states that the committee's report does not appear in the files of the London P. R. O.

‡ McDonald Papers, Vol. VII, p. 312, *et seq.*

money, Mr. Auditor is desired to take bond from Col. Ludwell for ye full compleating of ye House, in such manner as shall be fully satisfactory to his Excellency ye Council & ye House of Burgesses answerably good and equivalent to the condition of ye same."*

From the same Journal of the Assembly it is learned that the Assembly room wherein the Burgesses met most probably occupied the entire second floor of the main building, and that adjoining the Assembly room was a smaller apartment referred to as the porch room or porch chamber, which in the third state house had been used as the Secretary's office and as a repository of the colonial records. This room, as shown by the extracts from the Assembly Journal, was a bone of contention between the governor (Effingham) and the House, and no doubt had much to do with the subsequent persecution of Robert Beverley, Clerk of the Assembly. It is conjectured that the porch room was over the south porch.

The chamber used for the double purpose of holding sessions of the Court and meetings of the Council was on the first floor—probably represented by the larger of the two divisions, the eastern, formed by the fourteen-inch cross wall. The smaller, or western, was used as a waiting-room for those having business at court. A part of the latter, at its western end, was cut off by a wooden petition in 1685 or 1686 for an office for the Secretary of State. It is likely that there was a wide hall in the first story connecting the south porch and the north wing, and as "T. M." states that he saw the Council in session through the open doorway while on his way up to the Assembly, it seems likely that the hall contained the staircase. This position of the staircase, however, is purely conjectural.

As the foundations of the north wing are but fourteen inches thick, they probably carried walls but one story high, which prior to 1686 may have belonged to the office of the clerk of the Assembly.

Subjoined are extracts from the Journal of the Assembly in December, 1685, the authority for some of the foregoing deductions:

* *Ibid*, p. 366.

"Resolved by ye House, that ye room in ye state House, called ye Porch Chamber be kept and appropriated an office for ye Clk of ye Assbly and yt Robert Beverley* ye present Clerk take possession thereof and therein Lodge and place all Records, Books and Papers, belonging to ye Assembly, wch either now are or for ye time to come shall be committed to his charge keeping or Custody.

Ordered that this resolve of ye House be sent to his Excellency and ye Council, with ye requests of this House for their concurrence therein.

Proposed by ye House, yt ye lower room in the state House opposite to ye Court House room be with all possible expedition fitted for ye Secretaries Office, And this House doe pray his Excellency will please to command and direct ye doing thereof, and yt the Honble Col Ludwell be treated with about it

Xber 4th 1685

Signed by Order of ye House of Burgesses

ROBT BEVERLEY, Clk Assbly "

"Xber 8th 1685.

By ye House of Burgesses

To his Excellency and ye Council.

This House having read and considered yr Exclies late answer to ye resolve of this House, appointing ye room called ye Porch room in ye State House for an office for their Clerk, and that ye lower room under ye Assembly room may be fitted, soe much thereof, as is necessary, for an office for Mr. Secretary, doe now again supplicate yr Excellency and ye Council, will please to concur with them therein, for although they doe acknowledge yt ye sd porch room att ye first building of ye State House was made use of for an office for ye Secretary, yet ye House of Burgesses whilst it soe remained, all along observed it, both inconvenient and incommodious to them whilst sitting; there being nothing spoken or proposed in ye House, that was not equally to be heard there, as wel as in ye Assembly room itselfe, besides ye same gave continuall opportunity to all sorts of psons to

* Although this name is now spelled both with and without an *e* in the last syllable, the former style appears to have been that used by the above-mentioned person.

crowd before the Assembly room, under pretence of coming to ye Office.

And this House doe again propose to your Excelcy & Honrs such part of ye room, under ye Assembly rooms, as is necessary for ye Secretaries office, wch by seeling ye Walls and raising ye floor will become as safe & commodious for preservation of ye Records, as its possible any other place can be made, wch they doubt not will soe appear to yr Excellency and ye Council, to whom they submit ye manner of doing and directions thereof, and againe request ye acceptance thereof, to that purposc.

Test ROBERT BEVERLEY Clk Assbly.

The following answer was ordered to be returned.

By His Excellency & Council.

Your reasons given for ye Porch room to remaine an office for your Clerk, have been considered and agreed to, upon condition his Majestys Secretary upon ye first notice given him, be content that his office shall be in ye lower room you propose wch is not in ye least to be doubted, and that you will provide, that a strong partition be made under ye second girder, att ye West end of ye said room, ye floor raised two foot from ye ground, ye walls ceeled, with sawen boards smoothd and battened, and ye Windows iron barred, and shutters or Window leaves, of half inch board with a crosse barr to each, with shelves, table & benches to be well done and compleatly finishd before ye next general court, att ye charge of ye Country, to be paid for ye next General Assembly, and that you agree with some workman accordingly."

It is interesting to note that Robert Beverley, who was the clerk of the Assembly in 1685, probably never occupied the porch chamber as an office, for by a letter from King James II, dated August 1, 1686, he was forever disqualified for holding office, the reason assigned for which in the letter being that he had "chiefly occasioned and promoted those disputes and contests" of the Assembly, in the stormy session of 1685. The King's letter also deprived the House of the privilege of electing its clerk, transferring to the governor authority to fill the position by appointment, and ordered Beverley's prosecution for

altering the records.* Beverley died shortly before April, 1687.

By an order of the General Assembly there was to be placed a "railing with rails and banisters of Locust or Cedar wood laid double in Oyle & and as close as may be ye forepart of ye State House, of convenient height & att convenient distance from ye House."† The above is taken to mean that the railing was to be placed across the Assembly room to exclude spectators from the part of the hall appointed for sessions of the Burgesses.

In uncovering the foundations it was discovered that nearly all of the brick of which the walls were composed and parts of those belonging to the foundations had been removed, also some of the brick paving.

It is inferred from finding fragments of slate and tiles around the foundations that the roofs of the buildings were covered with those materials. They were specified in the statute of December, 1662.

The row of buildings was probably completed about 1666, burned in 1676, and partly rebuilt in 1685 and 1686. The remainder of the row was possibly rebuilt between 1694 and 1698. The buildings comprising it were destroyed in the fire of October 31, 1698.

The foregoing views as to the arrangement of rooms in the fourth state house are exhibited on the accompanying plate.

During the fall and early winter of 1903 the association built up the foundations to the level of the ground with concrete and the walls of the cellars with the original brick. On account of the brick being very fragile the cellar walls were protected with cement plaster.

From what has preceded it is evident that the "James Citty" state houses, although substantial, were not imposing structures. In the case of the first, third and fourth, they formed part of a row or block of buildings.

It is not surprising that the colony, which a few years before the building of the fourth state house had a population of but 50,000 to 60,000 free holders,‡ could not afford out of its pov-

* *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. III, page 41.

† *McDonald Papers*, Vol. VII, p. 397.

‡ *Sainsbury's Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1681-1685.

erty and under its heavy burden of taxation, to have any better public buildings. The annual allowances of Culpeper as governor in 1681, alone, drained the colony of 2,150 pounds sterling,* which, with the perquisite of five hundred pounds sterling for house rent, reduced to present values, aggregated about \$50,000.

Recurring to the Journal of the General Assembly of 1685, it contains a resolution of the House of Burgesses providing for building a prison, not concurred in by the governor and Council.† A prison was probably erected after the completion of the fourth state house, for one was burned in the fire of October, 1698. ‡

The last meeting of the Assembly at "James City" was held in April, 1699, in some building unknown. At the above session an act was passed for removing the seat of government to Williamsburg. In the four succeeding years the college of William and Mary was used as the state house. In 1705 the capitol building at Williamsburg was completed. It was occupied until burned about 1747. The college was again used as a state house until the capitol was rebuilt in 1755. By 1779, the centre of population having moved westward, Williamsburg was no longer well adapted as a point for assembling the legislature. For the above reason principally, and also on account of its being thought that the place was rendered unsafe by the then existing state of war, it was decided by an act of assembly passed in the above year to transfer the seat of government to Richmond, which statute went into effect in 1780.

THE TURF AND BRICK FORTS.

THE earliest fort of the settlers, called by them "James Forte," as previously shown, was probably situated on the river bank, at the upper extremity of the fourth ridge.

From the description of "James City," previously alluded to, written by the Rev. John Clayton in 1688,|| about two years after his return to England, it appears that during his residence

* *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 31, Hartwell, Chilton and Blair.

† McDonald Papers, Vol. VII, p. 356.

‡ *Present State of Virginia*, p. 25, Hugh Jones, A. M.

|| *Force's Historical Tracts*, Vol. III.

at "James Citty," from 1684 to 1686, there was in the town an old dismantled earth work, quadrangular in plan, "with something like Bastions at the four corners." In a grant to Henry Hartwell in 1689,* the western line of his tract is described as "passing along by ye angular points of ye trench which faceth two of ye Eastern Bastions of an old ruined turf fort." The above quotations undoubtedly refer to the same fort.

The Hartwell tract being accurately located, the approximate position of the fort was ascertained. According to Mr. Clayton's letter, the fort was dismantled before 1684. No mark or vestige of it remains above ground. There is apparently no information available as to when it was constructed. As the land on which it was situated was patented to Captain Ralph Hamor in 1624, the time of its construction must have been subsequent to that year, or to that of his death, 1626, on the 11th of October of which year his will was probated and his widow, Elizabeth, qualified as administratrix.†

It is possible that the turf fort was the one referred to by Beverley, as follows: "The news of this plot (the Birkenhead conspiracy in September, 1663,) being transmitted to King Charles the second, his Majesty sent his royal commands to build a fort at James town, for security of the governor, and to be a curb upon all such traitorous attempts for the future. But the country, thinking all danger over, only raised a battery of some small pieces of cannon."‡

In the account of the town by Mr. Richard Randolph in 1837,|| it is stated in substance that some of the walls and mounds of the ancient fort still remained, that a few hundred yards to the right of the fort stood the building reputed to have been a powder magazine, and that a part of the fort had been destroyed by the encroachments of the river.

It appears from what follows that the fort referred to by Randolph was the last erected at "James Citty." The site of the former "magazine" is shown on the map.

*Va. Land Pat. Records, Book VII, p. 701.

† Transcripts Robinson, MSS., p. 159.

‡ *History of the Present State of Virginia*, p. 56.

|| *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. III, pp. 303, 304

It is assumed that, in making his observations, Mr. Randolph faced the river, the fort being down stream from, or below the magazine. If the distance between the two structures had been several hundred yards, as given by him, the site of the fort would now be in the deep water opposite the Confederate fort of 1861. This would involve an extensive change of position of the deep channel since 1837, which palpably would be impossible, for, as has been pointed out, the channel of James river at Jamestown Island is very stable, and no marked changes of its position or depth occur, even in centuries. It is, therefore, believed that Mr. Randolph meant feet, and not yards, or it is possible that the word yards is a typographic error.

The distance between the shore lines of 1837 and 1891, near the uppermost of the four jetties marked "a" on map, three hundred and twenty feet below the reputed magazine, is found approximately by using the average annual rates of abrasion of two and four feet, previously determined, to have been one hundred and ninety feet. The shore of 1891 was accurately located in that year. In 1896 it was cut back about seventy feet to bring it to a fair line for receiving protection work. Since 1896 the recession of the bank has been very slight at the locality referred to. When viewed by Mr. Randolph, therefore, the shore was about two hundred and sixty feet further west than at present, and some of the mounds of the fort were then standing. At from two hundred to three hundred and fifty feet off shore, where, according to the above deductions, the fort would have stood, are what appear to be masses of masonry submerged from one and one-half to two and one-half feet below low water. The *debris* lies in what would be the extension of the "little vale" between the third and fourth ridges, from three hundred and fifty to four hundred and fifty feet to the left of the reputed magazine, with the observer facing the river, thus agreeing fairly well with Mr. Randolph's estimate of distance, amended as above suggested.

From Mr. Clayton's description of "James City," before referred to, it is learned that the brick fort was crescent-shaped, that a brick wall formed a part of it, probably one of its faces to retain encompassing earthworks, or mounds, as Mr. Randolph styles them, and that it was situated at the beginning of the

swamp, above the town, where the channel was very near the shore.

According to Mr. Clayton also, on account of being in a vale and having its guns pointed down stream, its shot intended for an enemy's fleet would have lodged in the bank below, which was at a higher elevation than the fort, and from ten to forty yards distant. The bank which would have received the shot from the fort's guns was the former head of the fourth ridge, which formed the eastern boundary of the "little vale."

In September, 1667, an act of Assembly was passed* for building five forts, one of which was to be at "James Citty." Its walls were to be of brick, ten feet high, and the part facing the river ten feet thick. The fort, according to the above act, was to have an armament of eight great guns; according to another authority, it was to mount fourteen guns.† The above act undoubtedly refers to the brick fort. The contractors for building the fort were Major Theophilus Hone, Colonel William Drummond, and Colonel Matthew Page. The funds for its construction do not appear to have been raised as late as September, 1672.‡ Between 1672 and 1676 a peremptory order was issued by the court requiring the surviving contractors for the fort, Hone and Drummond, to forthwith complete its construction, and providing that no further payment should be made until the work was completed.§

As has been shown, the channel opposite the site of the former turf fort is about twice as far from the shore as it is three hundred yards above the tower ruin, or about where the brick fort stood. This coincides with Mr. Clayton's statement that opposite the turf fort the channel was nearer the middle of the river than off the brick fort.||

From what has preceded it is evident that the fort referred to by Mr. Randolph was the brick fort described by Mr. Clayton, that it was situated in the extension of the depression between

* *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. II, pp. 255-257.

† McDonald Papers, Vol. V, p. 4.

‡ *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. II, pp. 293, 294.

§ Robinson's Transcripts, General Court Records, 1670-1676, p. 149.

|| *Force's Historical Tracts*, Vol. III.

the third and fourth ridges, and that the masonry debris now lying under water off the uppermost of the four jetties now marked "a" on chart are most probably parts of its wall, which it was proposed to make ten feet high and ten feet thick.

From Mr. Clayton's allusion to the relative positions of the brick and turf forts, with reference to that of the town, "but it is the same as if a Fort were built at Chelsea to secure London from being taken by shipping," and "There was indeed an old Fort of Earth in the town," it is apparent that in 1684 and 1686 the town, or at least the greater part of it, was below the brick fort. This agrees with available information, for in 1694 the only buildings known to have been standing on the third ridge were the "Country House" and the state house. It is probable that the building reputed to have been a magazine was also standing and possibly one or two dwelling houses. There are no signs of house foundations on the ridges above the third ridge.

"JAMES City," in its best days, was little more than a straggling hamlet, holding besides a church and a few unostentatious public buildings, hardly ever more than a score of dwellings, and a larger permanent population than one hundred souls. It was the foreshore on which the inrolling waves of immigration, on their way up the "Greate River," first broke. Its life, a feverish one, whose term was less than a century, terminated two centuries ago. Attempts to encourage the growth of the town by offering land bounties to those who should erect brick dwellings, as well as enactments and re-enactments making it the sole port of entry for the colony, failed signally to raise it to a place of any proportions, and after being twice lifted from its ashes, it succumbed under a third conflagration and was left prone. The town must have been held in disfavor, and avoided as a place of residence by many of the early colonists, on account of a well-earned reputation of being "insalubritious" in summer. The period of its life was not propitious for town building, as the principal efforts of the colonists were then devoted to agriculture, particularly tobacco raising.

Few relics of the old town mark its site, but its name is imperishable. Its requiem is unceasing sung in the rhythmic surgings of the "King's River."

APPENDIX.

AN ABRIDGED DESCRIPTION OF THE METHOD EMPLOYED IN LOCATING "THE NEW TOWNE," FROM THE VIRGINIA LAND PATENT RECORDS.

The following patents were used for locating "the New Towne:"

(1) John Pott, "Doctr. of Physicke," for three acres "in the new Towne," dated August 11, 1624.

(2) Same grantee, for 12 acres, including the above three acres, dated September 20, 1628.

(3) John Phips, for 120 acres, "part thereof in James Citye's liberties," dated February 23, 1656. This patent includes 12 acres "formerly granted by patent unto Dr. John Pott."

(4) John Knowles, for 133 acres, 35 9-10 chains, "part within and part without the liberties of the said city," dated May 6, 1665.

The tract covered by this patent includes the above 120 acres purchased from John Phips; 3 acres 44 37-100 chains, also purchased from said Phips; and 9 acres 71 53-100 chains, "due for transportation for one person."

(5) William Sherwood, for 308 acres in James City and James City Island, dated April 20, 1694.

The Sherwood tract included 3½ acres "purchased by him the said Wm. Sherwood of John Page Esqr;" 1 acre (see (9) below); 133 acres 35 9-10 chains "being heretofore granted by patent dated the 6th day of May 1665 to one John Knowles;" 28½ acres "granted by patent dated the 4th day of October, 1656, to one John Bauldwin;" and the remainder, "being formerly granted to Richard James by patent dated the 5th day of June, 1657."

(6) Henry Hartwell, for 2 acres, 1 rood, 24 1-10 poles, dated April 20, 1689.

(7) Richard Holder, in "James Citty," for 8 acres, 1 rood, 5 poles, dated January 28, 1672.

(8) Wm. Edwards, Jr., for 127 poles in James City, dated October 15, 1698.

(9) William Sherwood, for one acre of land * * * "in James City on which formerly stood the brick house formerly called the Country house," etc., dated April 23, 1681.

The tracts represented by the patents are shown on the accompanying "Plat of the Tracts." They were connected by means of their common boundaries, as follows :

(1) The northern boundary of the Pott tract, (2) line 31-32, is also one of the lines of the Phips (3) survey.

(2) The line 31-32 is also common to Phips (3) and Knowles (4), and the line 31-33 of Knowles is a part of the line 31-27, of Pott.

(3) The lines 4-11, 11-10 and 10-9 are common to Knowles (4) and Sherwood (5).

(4) The lines 4-11, 11-10 and 10-9 are also common to Sherwood (5) and Sherwood (9).

(5) Lines 11-10 and 10-9 of Hartwell are common to Sherwood (5), Sherwood (9) and Knowles (4), and Hartwell 36-11 forms part of line 4-11 of each of the above tracts, (5) and (9).

(6) Line 19-20 Hartwell (6) differs $1\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ in azimuth from the line 19-26 of Holder (7). The length of the line 19-20, however, being but $51\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the above difference of azimuth would change the position of the point 20 but one foot, a too insignificant difference to be considered in a compass survey. Hartwell's patent reads for the course 17-19, "but on the land now or late of holder." It also reads for line 19-20, "thence along holder," showing that the above line is a part of Holder's western boundary.

(7) The azimuth of the line 19-26 of Holder (6) is the same as line 21-26 of Edwards (8). The length of the above line for the Edwards tract, however, is shorter. The south end of the above eastern boundary of the Edwards tract (8) is described as being "at ye mouth of ye Orchard Run on James River," and the same end of the line for the Holder tract is described as being "at high water mark on James River side at the mouth of a small run entering thereinto." The runs are undoubtedly one and the same.

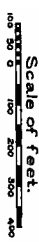
The patents show that Orchard Run was on the south bank of

PLAT OF THE TRACTS used for locating the part of

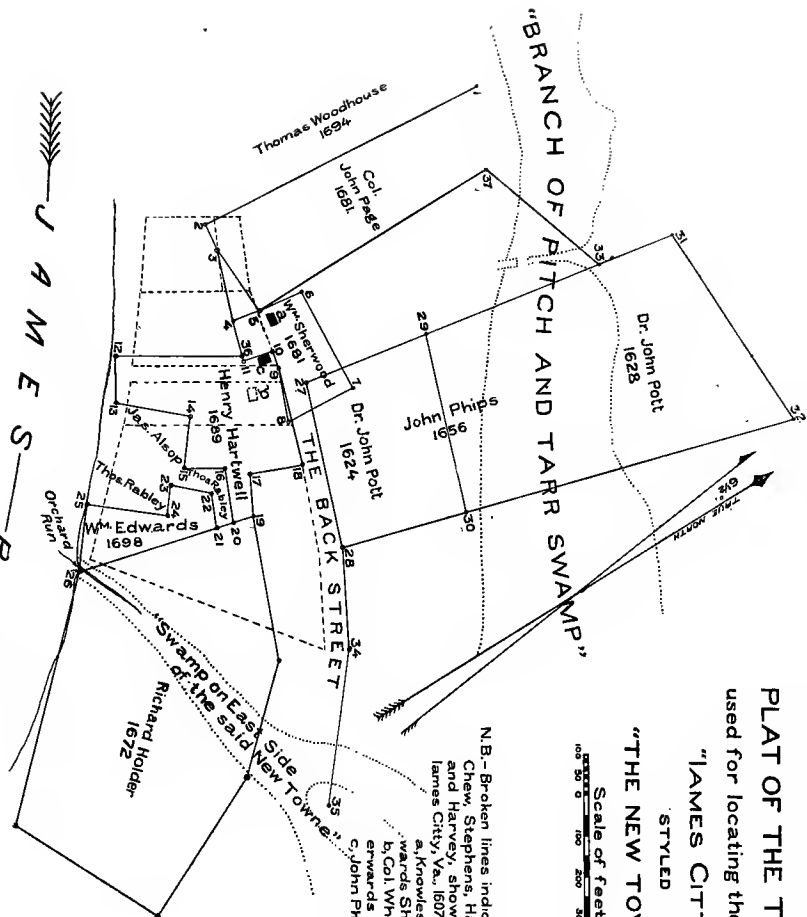
"JAMES CITY"

STYLED

"THE NEW TOWNE."



N.B.—Broken lines indicate tracts of Chew, Stephens, Hamor, Menefy and Harvey, shown on "Map of James City, Va., 1607-1698."
a, Knowles' house, afterwards Sherwood's.
b, Col White's house, afterwards Hartwell's.
c, John Phips house.



the island. As there is but one stream entering the river on that bank that could be designated a run, it was readily identified

The descriptions in the patents furnish some other data as to the names of owners of adjacent land, which further confirm several of the above determinations.

Several errors were discovered in the survey notes of the transcripts of the patents above referred to and, until they were located and corrected, it was found to be impracticable to plat the tracts. The errors were those of the surveyor and of the scrivener who transcribed the patents. They comprise principally the reading of the south end of the needle by the surveyor, and in transcribing, misplacing the decimal point in the length of a course given in figures, and entering azimuths incorrectly.

In one of the patents, (Sherwood 9), the azimuth of every course of the survey is reversed. The last named tract might be omitted from the plat, as it only serves the purpose of confirming the junction of three other tracts, Knowles (4), Sherwood (5) and Hartwell (6), which is well established.

All of the foregoing tracts being platted, the point 26 was superposed on the mouth of Orchard Run, previously identified and located on a modern map, and the map as made up from ancient patents rotated around point 26 until its magnetic meridian had a western declination of $6\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.* It was then found that point 1 of Sherwood (5) fell on the south side of the branch of "Pitch and Tarr Swamp," thus agreeing with the description in the patent record for Sherwood (5). Another point of Sherwood (5) near its eastern end, omitted from the accompanying plat—as by including it the map would have been made too large—falls within thirty-five feet of where the description places it, viz., on the edge of a great marsh on Back River.

A causeway across the swamp before referred to, being prob-

*The magnetic declination at "James City" about the middle of the seventeenth century was probably six or seven degrees west. There are no data prior to 1694 for any better than a rough approximation. Six and a half degrees appears to be close enough for the class of surveys to which it is here applied.

ably the bridge given as a witness mark in the Knowles patent (4) being found very near the point indicated by that patent also confirms the location of "the New Towne" as exhibited on the map.

The south line of the Pott tract 27-28, (1) and that of Phips (3) fix the position and direction of Back Street. The southern boundaries of tracts of Hartwell (6), Holder (7) and Edwards (8), fix the positions of parts of the southern bank of the island for the seventeenth century, which is thereby found to conform closely to that of to-day, thus showing that it has not been abraded to any extent by the waves. This is as it should be, for the part of the island shore immediately below the present wharf has not been greatly exposed to wave action. The ancient south shore of the island and the positions of the Pott tracts and the Back Street being established, the Ralph Hamor tract was platted by its dimensions given in the patent records.* Its position was then approximately arrived at by finding by trial the place on the chart where the length of the tract would fit in between the Back Street and the "highway along the banke of the Main River."

* The area of the plat of John Harvey† being given, also its northern boundary, Back Street, its eastern boundary "the Swamp lying on the East side of the said New Towne," its southern boundary, "upon the highway close to the banke of the Main river," the approximate position of the tract was ascertained after several trials.

From the descriptions of the Harvey and Hamor tracts the position of those of George Menefy‡ and Richard Stephens,§ and also those of the two cross streets, all of which are mentioned in the descriptions of the two first named, were readily found, and finally the tract of John Chew,|| all as shown on the "Map of Iames Citty, Va., 1607-1698."

N. B.—Lines indicated on the "Plat of the Tracts" by numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 10, 9, are part of Sherwood (5) survey.

* Va. Land Pat. Record, Book I, p. 3.

† *Ibid*, Book I, p. 5.

‡ *Ibid*, Book I, p. 4.

§ *Ibid*, Book I, p. 1.

|| *Ibid*, Book I, p. 7.

Lines indicated by numbers 9, 10, 11, 4, 5, 37, 33, 31, 32, are part of Knowles (4) survey.

Lines indicated by numbers 28, 34, 35, are part of Phips (3) survey.

The dwellings of Knowles, later Sherwood's, of Col. White, later Henry Hartwell's, also that of John Phips, although having no connection with the matter of locating the "New Towne," are shown on the plate, on account of being interesting features. Their positions were determined from references to them in the patents.

By comparing the "Plat" with the "Map of 'James Citty'," especially the Pott and Holder tracts, the relation of the two plates will be apparent.

"Back Street" appears to have lost its name before 1656, as Phips' patent of that year, although following its lines, does not refer to it by name. Charlestown's (Boston) "Back Street," dating from very early colonial times, survives under its original name.

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NOTE.

The Ambler MSS. and "The Site of Old 'James Towne,' 1607-1698."

By the publication in April, 1904, of the report of the Librarian of the Congressional Library, for the fiscal year of 1903, the author of "The Site of Old 'James Towne' " was apprised of the acquisition by the library of a collection of MSS. of which he had no previous knowledge, showing the former possessions of the Ambler family situated principally at Jamestown or in its vicinage. An examination of the papers was made by him towards the end of April.

The collection comprises upwards of 140 MSS. and charts, consisting of original patents, deeds and leases, also copies of other similar documents, certified and uncertified, and copies of three wills, all showing the chain of title of the lands as vested in different owners up to 1809, and, in one instance, dating back to 1649. There is no reference in the papers, however, to grants of the tracts which formed the "New Towne" in 1623. A comparison of some of the original patents in the collection with their transcripts in the land register's office at Richmond shows that the latter, in the main, are correct, and have been properly interpreted, thus proving the accuracy of the "Map of 'James Citty,' 1607-1698." As, however, there is no plat of Jamestown among the papers, they would not have saved the labor and study expended in preparing the above map, and the "Plat of the Tracts," had they been available when the above-mentioned charts were constructed.

The papers comprising the collection contain evidence confirming the position of the turf fort, and show that it was still standing in 1721. They also confirm other important features of the map.

Among the collection are several skeleton charts of surveys, two of which relate to Jamestown. One, made in 1680, shows that the western shore line of the island in the 17th century above the "Pitch and Tarr Swamp" was about as shown on the

author's map. The agreement of the above chart with the "Map of 'James Citty,'" in this respect, indirectly confirms the position given on the map of the part of the western shore of the island below the upper branch of the swamp. This evidence greatly strengthens the view expressed in the monograph as to the site of the landing-place at Jamestown of the first band of settlers. It is evident from the other skeleton chart that the Sherwood tracts of 1681 and 1694 were situated with regard to each other and the branch of Pitch and Tar Swamp, as drawn on the "Map of 'James Citty,' Va., 1607-1698," and the "Plat of Tracts." These coincidences corroborate the position of the Pott tract as given in the map, and indirectly show the general correctness of the part of the map for the east end of the town.

A reference in a lease for land on the second ridge in 1693 confirms the location of the third and fourth state houses on the third ridge, as established from other data. No light, however, is thrown on the location of the church by the Ambler papers.

It is learned from William Sherwood's will that the epitaph on his tombstone is worded in accordance with his instructions to his principal legatee, Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys, Knt., of London.

Interesting information is supplied by the Ambler papers regarding the 3½-acre tract of "Col. Jno. Page of 1681," shown on the "Plat of the Tracts." The site of this tract on the "Map of 'James Citty'" is covered by Sir Francis Wyatt's lot, and the lot attributed to Captain Roger Smith.

The Page tract included the original grant from Harvey to Richard Kemp, Esq., in 1639, who conveyed it to Wyatt. Wyatt, through his agent, Wm. Pierce, sold to Sir Wm. Berkeley, who sold it to Walter Chiles, whose widow—afterwards Mrs. Susan Waddinge—sold to Colonel John Page, who conveyed it to Wm. Sherwood in 1681. The concluding sentence in the description of the survey of the tract made for Sherwood in 1682 reads: "Including ye Ruins Sq^r Kemps Old Brick House." The above house was the first brick house built at Jamestown. It was 16 by 24 feet in plan and was referred to by Gov. Harvey in 1639, with considerable pride, as being the fairest that ever was known to the country for substance and importance. By the locating of the Page tract, therefore, the site of the first brick dwelling house in Virginia becomes approximately

known. The evidence, though slight, shows that the house was near the southwest corner of the Page tract.

Ralph Wormley, while secretary of state, resided on the Page tract, on or very near the Kemp grant.

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